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P r e f a c e

We are happy to publish the proceedings of the First and Second Sessions of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress held at Jawahar Bharati, Kavalu (May 1976) and V S. M. College, Ramachandrapuram (December 1976) respectively.

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M. PATTABHIRAMA REDDY,
Dr. G. RUDRAYYA CHOUDARY,

JAINISM AND JAIN RELICS IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Y V. RAMANA

The history of Jainism in Andhra Desa is one of the forgotten chapters of Andhra religious and cultural history. The popular impression is that Buddhism made greater progress in the Andhra country than Jainism in the ancient days due to the fact that there are considerable extensive remains of Buddhism in Andhra Pradesh such as those of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. The fact is that Jainism has more ancient association and more extensive existence in the different parts of Andhra Pradesh. According to P. B. Desai, "the origin of Jainism in the Andhra Desa might be ascribed to Lord Mahavira himself who seems to have laid its foundations by preaching his doctrine in the region of Kalinga which comprises the northern frontiers of the Andhra Country. It seems to have been eclipsed by the spread of Buddhism with royal patronage. Dr K. Gopalachari mentioned the reference to the Jain legend that the first King Satavahana by name (evidently Simuka) built Jain temples and Cetiys, tradition, epigraphy and literature make references to Jainism in Andhra Desa from the time of the Satavahanas till the end of the Vijayanagara Empire. Unfortunately, they are meagre and intercepted with long gaps of time.

There is a story in Nayasena's Jaina work *Dharmamurti* which refers to a Jaina prince called Dhananda (Kubera). He was a scion of the Ikshvaku family successor of the Satavahanas in the Andhra region. He ruled over Vengi Mandala. His capital was called "Pratipalapura" which is identified with Bhattiprolu in Guntur District. Dhandapuri of this period is a place in Guntur District (modern Siripuram near Sattinapalli). The Salankayanas and Vishnukundins paid greater attention to Vedic Hinduism.

The next important dynasty of Andhra was that of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. Many members of this dynasty patronised Jainism. Ayyana Mahadevi, a queen of Kubja Vishnu Vardhana, the first ruler of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi donated a village Musinikunda in Natavadi Vishaya for a Jain temple (called Nadumbi Basati) at Vijayawada. Jainism made great progress in this region during the rule of the Eastern Chalukyan King Vijayaditya II called Amma II (circa 915 to 970 A. D.). Three copper plates of the period of this ruler make mention of the benefactions to the Jaina temples and teachers. One of them was the Malliyapundi charter referring to the erection of a Jaina temple at Dharmapuri village. Another grant called Kaluchumbarru grant mentions the grant of a village for making repairs to the dining hall of a Jaina temple called "Sarvalokasraya Jinabhavana". The Machilipatnam plates are more significant. They refer to officers of the feudatories of the Eastern Chalukyan King. Manavadeva, his wife Medamba, their sons Bhima and Vara Vahana were all worshippers of Jinendra and were devotees of Jaina Dharma. The inscription refers to the Jaina teacher Jayasena, who was a disciple of Chandrasena. Jayasena was held in high regard by several orders of worshippers namely Sravakas, Kshapanakas, Kshullakaras and Ajakas. The donation was the village Pedagaridi Pevuru in Guntur District) for the construction of Jina Bhavanas near Vijaya Vatika (modern Vijayawada). An inscription of the time of the Eastern Chalukyan King Vimaladitya. (1011-22) found on a cave at Ramathirtham in Visakhapatnam district mentions that "his religious teacher Trikala Yogi Siddantadeva of the Desigana paid homage to Ramakonda with great devotion". This shows that Vimaladitya, father of Raja Raja Narendra who was the patron of Nannaya's Andhra Mahabharata was himself a Jaina. The eminence which Jainism enjoyed in the Andhra region at that time was one of the causes that prompted Raja Raja Narendra to encourage Nannaya to write the Maha Bharata in Telugu to stem the tide of the non-Vedic Jainism in the country. Similarly the period of the Ganga and the Rashtrakut Kings was the heyday of Jainism in Andhra Pradesh region and other parts of the Deccan. There are inscriptions in the Rayalaseema areas recording the existence of Jainism in that area. The most notable are the relics at Danavulupadu in Cuddapah district. One of them mentions the Rashtrakutta King Nitya Varsha identified with Indra IV or Kottiga. Another inscription of the eleventh century from Danavulapadu mentioned Nolamba Vijaya of the 11th century. Penugonda and Tadpatri in Anantapur district were strong holds of Jainism. Penugonda was one of the four great Vidyasthanas like Delhi, Kolhapur and Jina Kanchi. In Penugonda there is a famous Jain temple of Parsvanadha Basadi which is maintained in good condition even to this day. Jain worship is carried on there systematically. An inscription dated 1198 mentions that a

feudatory chief Udayaditya, made an endowment to Megha Chandra, the Superintending Priest of Chandranadha Parswanadha Basadi. Nagachandra's Guru was Bahu Bali. The Gangas of the tenth century were zealous patrons of Jainism as mentioned by V A Smith. The period of the Rashtrakuta kings witnessed the prevalence of Jainism in the Rayalaseema and Telangana regions. According to an earlier tradition known as Simhanandi tradition, Jainism was introduced in this area as early as the Second century A. D., probably in continuation of the spread of Jainism in Mysore area in the time of Buddha Banu and Chandra Gupta Maurya. This tradition says that the great Jaina teacher helped two Ikshvaku family Dadiga and Machava who came to the place called Perur in Cuddapah District where they established their power. But Jainism in the Deccan received the largest patronage in the period of the Gangas in Mysore and to some extent during the rule of the Rashtrakutas which extended over the Ceded Districts and the Telengana area. Next dynasty is that of the Kakatiyas which rendered some help to Jainism. Even to this day there is a great temple of Padmakshi on a hill near Hanumakonda (Warangal). There is an important inscription relating to the early Kakatiyas. It is dated 1117 A. D. and belonged to the reign of the Western Chalukyan King Vikramaditya VI. Kakati Prolaraja, son of Betaraja was a Maha Mandalesvara of the Chalukyan king. Unfortunately it was also the period during which there was conflict between Jains and Veerasaivas the followers of Basava. The spread of Veerasaivism was at the expense of Jainism. The Kakatiya rule was followed by that of the Vijayanagara Kings. One of the most significant inscriptions of this period was the one recorded at the feet of an image in Hampi Museum. It refers to the construction of a Jain temple in the city of Kandavrolu (Modern Kurnool Dist). There is the image of Kunthu Thirthankara, a very rare image of the Jaina Thirthanakaras. The inscription is dated 1395 A. D. belonging to the reign of Hari Hara II. Though Vedic Hindu religion received royal patronage during the period of the Vijayanagara kings, Jainism, lingered on and received occasional help. Some inscriptions of Bukka II and Krishna Deva Raya bear testimony to this fact. In the middle of the 16th century there was a wave of revival, probably the last one of Jainism in Andhra. After the fall of Vijayanagar and the shifting of the capital to Penugonda for some time Penugonda came into prominence and Jainism had a niche in the religious life of Penugonda as indicated earlier.

Dr. S. Gopalakrishna Murthi listed a number of the existing relics of Jainism in Andhra Pradesh in his work *Vestiges of Jainism in Andhra* published by the Department of Archaeology (A. P.). It contains a fairly comprehensive list of the vestiges of Jainism in

Andhra Pradesh and adds new names to those mentioned in an earlier work, *Studies in South Indian Jainism* by Dr. Seshagiri Rao and Ramaswami Ayyanagar. Neither has traced clearly the route of the spread of Jainism in Andhra Pradesh. The Jain temples and Chetiyas were constructed in Basadis (Vasati) and when they declined or were destroyed, the places where they were situated came to be known as 'Padus' (*Padu* in Telugu means "spoiled" or "destroyed"). The suffix *padu* to a village name often gives a clue to its association with Jainism in Andhra country. Some of the important Jain vestiges of the Jain centres in Andhra from Visakhapatnam to Nellore along the coast and to Mahaboobnagar, Karimnagar, Warangal, Anantapur, Kurnool and Cuddapah in the interior are found today. The more important of them are, - Rama Thirtham and Bhogapuram in Visakhapatnam District, Pithapuram, Draksharama, Arya Vatam, Kajulur, Tatipaka and Jalluru in East Godavari District, Penumanchili, Achanta, Penugonda, Chebrolu in West Godavari District, Gudivada and Vijayawada in Krishna District, Atmakuru in Nellore District, Santaravur in Gudur Dist., Danavulanadu in Cuddapah District, Penugonda in Anantapur District, Jadcherla in Mahaboobnagar, Vemulavada and Jagatial in Karimnagar District, Hanamkonda in Warangal District and Nagarjunakonda in Nalgonda Dist. There are thus two Penugondas prominently associated with Jainism. From the evidence available it seems to me that Jainism spread from Kalinga (Orissa) to Andhra in the centuries before Christ. The route was through Ganjam, Ramathirtham, Bhogapuram, Devarathira (or Yelamanchili) Pithapuram, Aryavatam, Draksharama, Konasingi, Penumanchili, Chebrolu, Gudivada, Dhanandapura. In Guntur Dt., Atmakur (Nellore Dt.), places in Chittoor District and Kanchi and the Tamilnadu area. On the Western side it spread in the Andhra region of the Central Deccan where it was introduced by Chandra Gupta Maurya and Bhadra Bahu and spread to Karnataka country. From this side it had its link with Jainism in Gujarat from where the Chakryans came. An interesting inference can be drawn from a passage in the Telugu work '*Pariditaradhya Charitra*' where the fanatic Veerasaivite expresses glee to see that the Jainas are wiped out by Lord Somanadha of Saurashtra who was brought and consecrated in Andhra. One very peculiar, but interesting fact is that though Jainism travelled to the South from Andhra region to Karnataka and Tamil lands it made a greater impact in both of these places while becoming extinct almost completely in Andhra. But the fact remains that though the Jains in Andhra Pradesh are very few the influence of Jainism in Andhra life is substantial and considerable.

The decline of Jainism in Andhra Pradesh was due to the spread of the Veerasaiva movement and the fanaticism of the kings

who patronised Vedic Hinduism to a large extent, and to some extent also by the rise of Ramanuja's Vaishnava movement. In his work, *Medieval Jainism*, B A Saletore explained the cause of the decline of Jainism in Andhra country in the following words, "The Kota kings and the Kakatiyas of Warangal as Seshagiri Rao has so well shown, were responsible for the disappearance of Jainism from Andhra Desa. Kakatiya Ganapati (1199-1260) was responsible for the disappearance of Jainism in Andhra due to the defeat of the Jains at the hands of Tikkana. The translation of the *Mahabharata* into Telugu was intended to wean away the influence of Jainism and to propagate Vedic religion in Andhra. The fact is specifically mentioned by Nannaya who began the translation. The performance of a sacrifice by Tikkana Somayaji before commencing the completion of the *Andhra Mahabharatam* is significant from this point of view. *Panditaradhya Charitra* mentions the tradition of the destruction of famous Jain Basadis by great Veerasaiva followers. The Jain patron Kalachuri Bijjala who is said to have usurped power of the Chalukyan rule is said to have been killed by his Veerasaiva minister Basava who was the great leader of the Veerasaiva movement. The Chalukyan king Bittiga who was in the beginning a patron of Jainism was later converted to Vaishnavism by Sri Ramanuja, the great Vaishnava teacher and was known as Vishnu Vardhana. He later persecuted the Jains. The result was that the prosperous Jain Basadis became 'Padus' (or destroyed places). The 'Charana' Rishis or Munis (Jain ascetics) were destroyed by the Jangama Devaras (The wandering divinites of Saivism). The Saiva word 'Jangam' was evidently adopted from the Jain term 'Charana'. Even here the influence of Jainism on Saivism is seen. The discarding of the caste system is significant in both the rival creeds. The Jain temples or Jinalayas were converted into Sivalayas or Vishnnvalayas. The continued support which the Eastern Chalukyas gave Jainism, especially at Vijayawada was counter-balanced by the Parichedi-Pasupata rulers of that same city who were the avowed followers of Hindu religion. Near Penumanchili, I have seen a Sivalayam where I found a panel of Jain Thirthankaras on the stone beams of the doorway at the entrance. Acts of vandalism were perpetrated against Jain statues as at Penumanchili (In West Godavary) where the hands of the Jain Thirthankara were cut off. The statue was really one of the finest specimens of Jaina sculpture, though it stands mutilated now. The statues of the Jain teachers and condemned and ridiculed as "Jain Brahmins" and posted on the outskirts of the towns and villages as omens of evil. In a tank in the village of Achanta, in West Godavary District, Jain statues of a large size are thrown. In spite of partially being drowned in water

they stand out even to this day as fine symbols of Jain worship and Jain art. The decline of Jainism in Andhra Pradesh thus seems to be complete with the destruction by a Veeranna Chief called Linga who caused the cutting off the heads of Svetambara Jains as mentioned in a Srisailem record dated 1512 A. D.

In spite of the decline of Jainism at a later stage in Andhra history, it played a great role in the evolution of Andhra life and culture. The Jains contributed a lot in influencing the living habits of the people, the acts of social service, the development of education, literature and architecture.

The principle of Ahimsa entered into the very fabric of the social life of the Andhras. Vegetarianism has come to be recognised as a good habit of superiority even among the non-vegetarians. Not only the Brahmins but also the Vaisyas or Komatis (Gomatis), at one time the Jain trading community, now largely converted to Lingayat Saivism as Beerakomatis or Veera Komatis are strict vegetarians, a mark of the Jain influence. As in several other parts of India, the Jains in Andhra mostly confined themselves to the profession of trade (the Komatis or Gomatis at Penugonda in West Godavari District). These Gomatis came from Karnataka. They were worshippers of Gummata Nadha, a Jain teacher.

There are four cardinal principles of Dana (gifts) among the Jain sects relating to the provision of: 1) Ahara (Food) (Freedom from want), 2) Abhaya (Freedom from fear), 3) Bhishajya (Medicine/Health), 4) Sastra (Knowledge). These indicate how the Jain doctrines have a resemblance to some of the latest ideas of political philosophy adopted by modern Western Statesmen and even the United Nations. One of the inscriptions already mentioned in this article refers to a benefaction given in the time of the Eastern Chalukyan Amma II for repairs to a dining hall in a Jain Basadi. The Jains established great educational institutions in several parts of India. There is mention of four such educational institutions (Vidyasthanas) in several parts of India: Delhi, Kolhapur, Jinakanchi and Penugonda. One of them, Penugonda is in Andhra Pradesh. Dr. Srisaigiri Rao referred to a very interesting compromise between the Jains and the Saivas in the matter of educational initiation. The Jains were great pioneers in the teaching field and the Saivas later wanted to establish their superiority in the same matter. Formerly when the children were initiated into education and began *Aksharabhyasa* (learning the alphabet) they used to salute the Jain teachers (*Siddham*) first. After the agreement between the Jains and the Saivas

who overthrew the Jain superiority, the children are taught to salute Lord Siva and the Jains and Siddhas as well at the same time "Om Namassivaya Sidham Namah." This is one of the outstanding instances of Jain influence on education in Andhra

Some of the great Jain teachers connected with Andhra Jainism were Kundakundacharya, Santisena Simhanandi, Ardhanandi, Kali Chadracharya and Chandra Kirti Bhattaraka Andhra inscriptions refers to several ladies who made donations to Jain temples and Basadis, as is the case with Buddhism in Andhra. Queens Ayyana Mahadevi, Medamba, Chakamamba are some of the names mentioned in the inscriptions. Medapadu, a village near Samalkot in East Godavari may be a Jain village named after Medamba It is very near Chalukya Bhimavaram which is one of the five Aramas with famous Siva temples Padu is an indication of the destruction of Meda village in the vicinity of a Saiva centre. There are some Jain relics at some distance from Samalkot surroundings

Tradition refers to the contribution of Jains to Telugu literature There is a very early work on metre (*Chandassu*) called *Kavi Janasrayamu* It is dedicated to the great Jain (Sravaka Bharanaka), Malliya Rechana He was a merchant and the name of Rechana is found in the inscriptions of Kalinga region The author of this work is said to be Vemulavada Bhimakavi The traditional association of Bhima Kavi's name with the Chola Kalinga Gangu and Rechana's place in Kalinga region strengthen the view that Bhimakavi belonged to Daksharama which is nearer Kalinga. There is also a village called Vemulavada on the way from Kakinada to Dakshrama. On the other hand there is another equally strong view that Bhimakavi hailed from Vemulavada in Karimnagar District He is considered to be a contemporary and rival of Nannaya There is a legend that Nanaayya caused the destruction of Bhima Kavi's *Mahabharata*. Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu writes "it is very probable that there was a Jain period in Telugu literature also, a supposition which derives additional support from the fact that some of the great Canarese poets such as Pampa and Nagavarma hailed from the Telugu country" ¹¹ Nannaya's *Mahabharata* is said to be the first poetical work in Telugu literature and there is no literary work in Telugu earlier to it. The high standard of Telugu language of Nannaya's work clearly proves the existence of much earlier Telugu literature at different stages It must have been destroyed as a result of the conflict between Jain and Vedic Hindu scholars and poets. Again, one of the greatest of the Kannada poets, Pampa hailed from Vengi country and he was the author of Kannada

Bharata and Adipurana Nannaya Bhattu himself made mention of the help he received from the Kannada scholar Narayana Bhattu in writing his *Andhra Mahabharatamu*

The contribution of the Jains in the field of architecture and sculpture is remarkable. Even after the acts of great vandalism, many fine specimens of Jain sculpture and richly carved stone pillars survived and are found all over the Telugu country. Some of the Saiva shrines are reconstructed on the ruins of Jainlayas. The statues of Jain Thirthankaras, particularly those of Parswanadha are found in the Telugu land. The cobra hooded statues of Parswanadha are evidence of the spread of Parswanadha cult in the Telugu land. Here the Naga is the indigeneous symbol of worship (Totem). The Naga cult influenced Jain as well as Buddhist art in Andhra Country. The Jain statues at Pithapuram known as 'Sanyasi Rallu' (stones of ascetics) are examples of large sized statues. Just as the name of Lord Venkateswara has become a common proper name for men and women in Andhra, the term 'Jain Sanyasi' has been popular and common with the proper names of men and women in Visakha and Godavari Districts, where the large number of these 'Sanyasi Rallu' are found even now. The fine sculptured statues at Jalluru and Aryavatam are nicely done with great detail. There is a fine statue of Padmakshi with the lion symbol at Gorrepudi village near Kakinala. The sculptures of Padmakshi at Hanumakonda are remarkable. The sculptors of Godavari Districts seem to have used the fine black granite (Uttama Nila Sila) from the quarries of Dhavalaswaram near Rajahmundry which were used later for the Saiva shrines in that region during the Chalukyan period.

The History of Jainism is a fascinating but forgotten chapter in the history of Andhra Pradesh but the Jain influence has left an indelible mark on Andhra life and culture through the ages.

NOTES

1. P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India*, P. 3.
2. Dr K. Gopalachari, *Early History of Andhra Country*, I, 30.
3. P. B. Desai, *Op. cit.* P. 6 (quoting the article of Jainism in Andhra by M. Somasekhara Sarma in *Triveni*, Madras, Vol. VIII No. 2, 1918).
4. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV.
5. P. B. Desai, *Op. cit.*, P. 21.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
7. V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, Part I, p. 10.
8. B. A. Saletore, *Medieval Jainism*, p. 272.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 272.
10. P. B. Desai, *Op. cit.*, p. 161.
11. J. Ramayya Pantulu, Preface to *Kavyanasaravamu* (Telugu Academy Publication) by Bhimakavi.

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHALUKYAS OF NIDADAVOLU.

BY

K. S ATYAMURTY, M A., D I.S

&

P LAKSHMI NARASAMMA, M.A.

The earliest inscription of the Chalukyas of Nidadavolu can be had from 1259 A D from Juttiga ¹ In it the Chalukya Prince Virabhadra was mentioned as the son-in-law of Kakati Ganapati. The latest inscription of the line comes from Palakollu issued by Indusekhara during 1300 A D This forms the limit in which the genealogical and chronological frame work has to be fitted in.

Mythical Genealogy

During the Chalukyan and Post-Chalukyan period it had been a custom as such for the ruling families to claim themselves as the descendants from the lunar and solar families of the mythical fame. The Kakatiyas claimed themselves as of solar family, the Haihayas as of solar family,¹ and Chalukyas of Nidadavolu were no exception to this tradition. They would have accounted for their lacking to take such affiliations might degrade their social prestige. Hence they also resorted to such practices. An inscription from Palakol mentions them as of the lunar dynasty or the Somakula. The genealogy had been mentioned as from Lord Vishnu, Brahma took his birth. He gave birth to Atri whose son was Chandra. In the line of Chandra came the rulers of the Chalukya dynasty. For the purposes of the historical reconstruction, this mythical genealogy has no bearing and we have to observe the historical genealogy.

Historical Genealogy

The inscriptions that help the reconstruction of genealogy are hailing from Palakol, Juttiga, Kolanupaka⁶ and Uttaresvaramu⁷. Their help

can be used after a due discussion for having a consolidated genealogy of the line. Their sitewise observation will be in the following way.

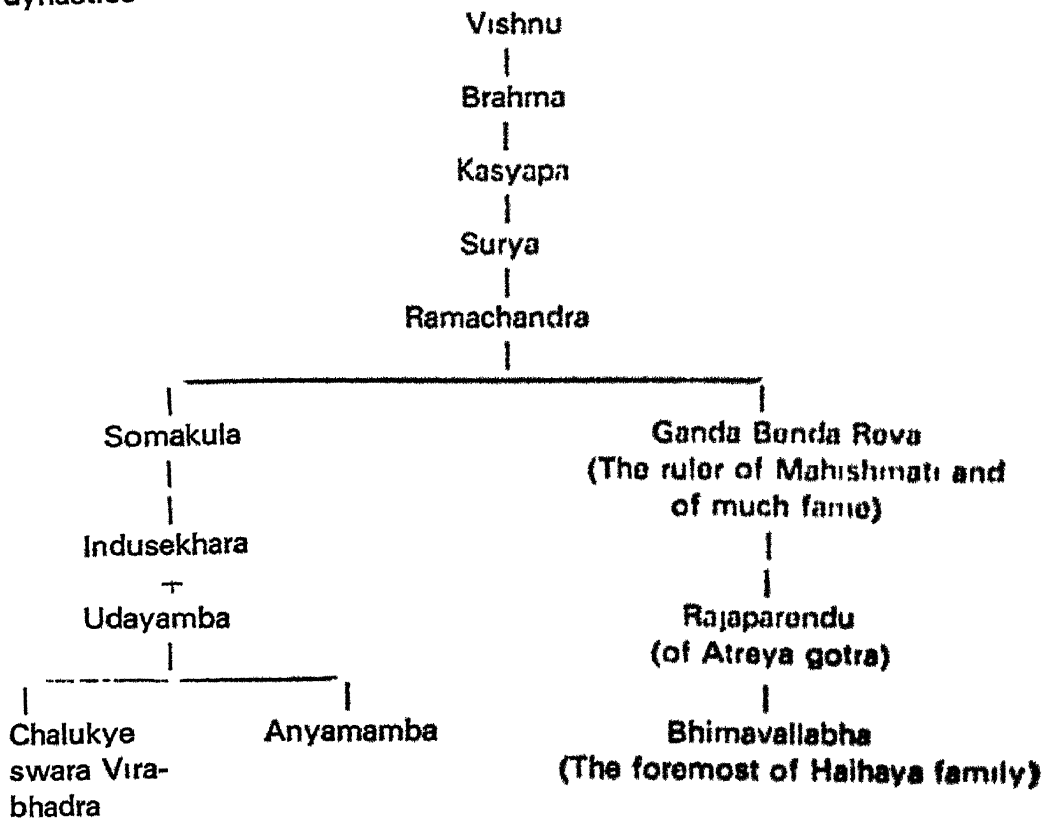
Palakol

The inscriptions that help the historical reconstruction can be tabulated chronologically in the following way.

No. of the inscription	Date
121	1261 A.D.
122	1266 A.D.
123	1275 A.D.
127	1300 A.D.
147	1300 A.D.
124	1306 A.D.
128	1318 A.D.

Their respective genealogy will be in the following way.

NO. 121. This is issued by Anyamamba since she is the daughter-in-law of the Haihaya family, she refers to the parentage of these dynasties.



NO 122 This inscription was said by Yasoda Devi to have been issued by Virabhadra⁹ On the other hand Dr Pratibha Magal says that it was issued by Udayambika for the merit of Virabhadra She concludes it "contains a strong hint that Virabhadra was dead by 1266 A D"⁹ Its genealogy will be in the following way

Vishnuvardhana
(The Chief of Chalukya family)
|
Indusekhara + Udayambika
|
Virabhadra

NO 123 This was issued by Kona Ganapati

Bhimavallabha
(Of Haihaya Family)
-
Anayamambika
(of Chalukya family)
|
Ganapati
(The ruler of Kona Kingdom)
+
Lakumamba

Pratibha Magal studied her as Lakkamba¹⁰

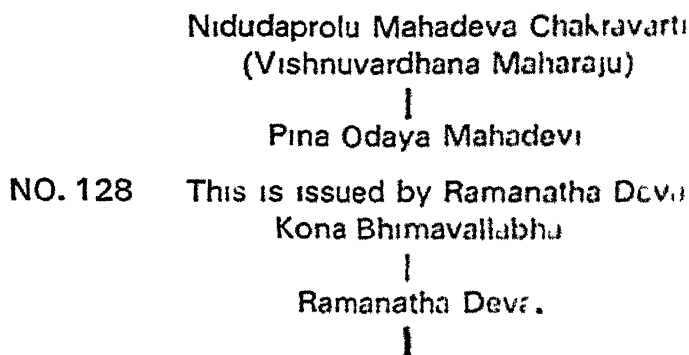
NO 127 This inscription is issued by Odayamahadevi, the daughter of Vishnuvardhana Maharaja Mahadeva Chakravarti

Mahadeva
|
Odayamahadevi
+
Kona Ganapadevaraju

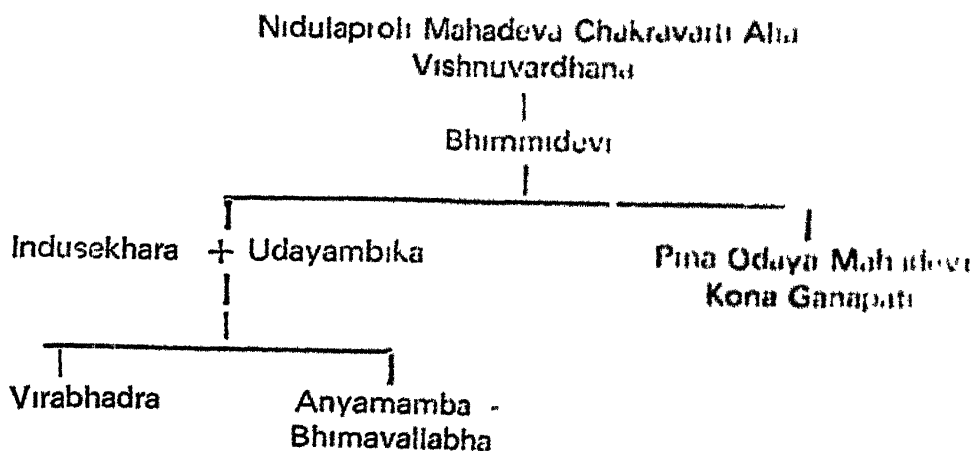
NO 147 : This is issued by Indusekhara Vishnuvardhana Deva Chakravarti

|
Bhimmidevi
|
Toleti Indusekhara Chakravarti

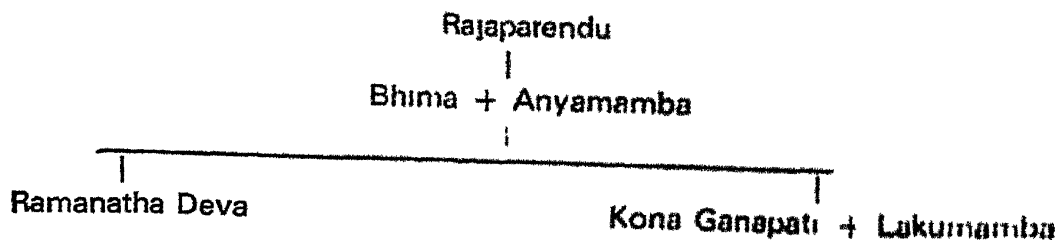
NO. 124 : This is issued by Pina Odaya Mahadevi for the merit of her parents.



In these inscriptions all Vishnuvardhanas were identified. The list from No 124 mentioned certain Nidudaprolu Mahadeva Chakravarti otherwise said as Vishnuvardhana Maharaju, a glorifying epithet. The scholars take differences of opinion here. Dr V Yasoda Devi says, that Mahadeva is no other than Vishnuvardhana.¹ Dr. Pratibha Mahal says, that he was different from Vishnuvardhana.² Let us for the time being accept the view of Yasodadevi. Then the genealogy runs as :



We have to check this genealogy from the available Hathaya inscriptions. It will be as :

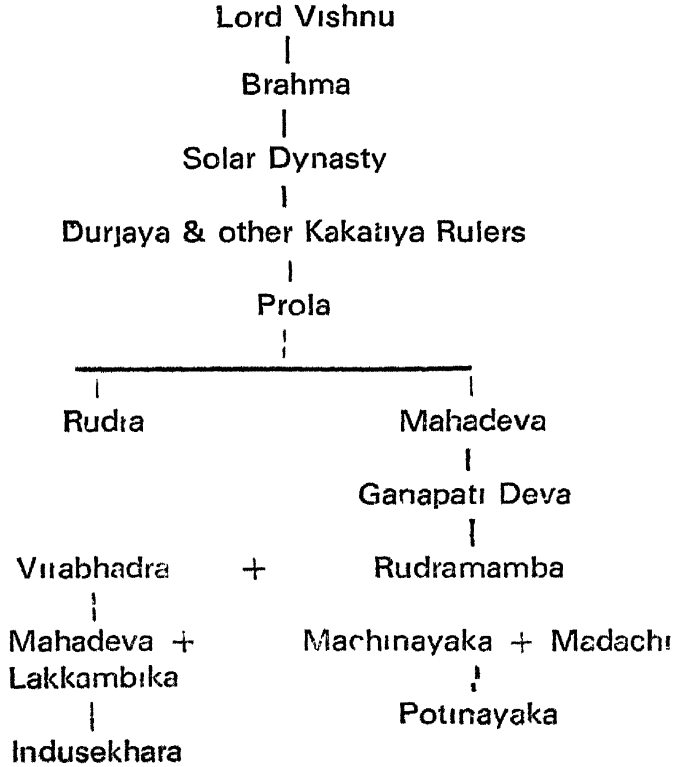


From this evidence it is clear that Kona Ganapati was the son of Vishnuvardhana's grand-daughter i. e. Anyamamba, by Bhima. Odaya Mahadevi, the daughter of Mahadeva was given in marriage to Kona Ganapati. If we take that Odaya Mahadevi was the sister of Indusekhara, a problem [arises how can she marry the son of her niece, Anyamamba.

Hence it may be pointed out that Mahadeva of Nos 124 and 127 is different from Vishnuvardhana

Kolanupaka¹³ Inscription

This is issued by Potinayaka, the servant of Mahadeva during 1279 A D , *Framadi-Paushya Bahula Saptami* In this the genealogical data is in the following way .



From this it can be inferred that this refers to the Kakatiya relations and a few more details about the Chalukya family. This data is presented in the inscription as :

Verse 81:

Line 58*Bhagya-*
 59 *r = (v) visvasya la yuh patir = abhav-*
 60 *d atho Virabhadra = abhi-dhanas = sau-*
 61 *mdary(y)en = emdum = ahnam*
 62 *patim = api mahasa*
 63 *mamdabhasau vitarvan / ya*
 64 *d - vaidagdhya vidagdha yad = uru-*

- 65 *vitaram yacak-au-*
 66 *gha yad-ajnam rajano ya-*
 67 -- *Pratapam vimata-nipata-*
 68 *yo janate jnata-bhavah || (9)* jyc*
 69 *sthās = chalukya-vams-arnna (10)**

III SIDE

- 70 *ra vaghair = y(y)at teja-sphurt(t)ṛ-*
 71 *hair = aṛi-nrpati-tamas-samcayai-*
 72 *r = asu yaṛam || (11)* Lakkamba-*
 73 *Yam suto jata (ṽ)* = Sri-Maha-*
 74 *deṛa-rajatah | namn = Emdu-se-*
 75 *kharo raja-Kumaras = Sivayo-*
 76 *r = iva || (12)* Indusekhara-narendr...*
 77 *namdane namdai svayam = a-*
 78 *sesa-namdane | jagmusam vita-*
 79 *ranam ranam muhu (S)* sva-*
 80 *sthat = aiva vidusam dvisam = a-*
 81 *pr || (1)*

Dr P Srinivasachar who edited the inscription translated this passage as :

" (v-9) By the fortune of the whole universe, she then got a consort, by name Virabhadra, who made the Moon and the Sun dull by his beauty and brilliance respectively ; whose proficiency (in learning), the understanding scholars know; whose great munificence the course of understanding supplicants know; whose command, the understanding kings know, and whose prowess, the understanding enemy kings know

(v-10) The eldest of the ocean of Calukya dynasty

(v-11) (This and the preceding verse are damaged and it is difficult to find the sequence of the ideas. Perhaps they indicate that there was a certain Mahadeva, elder brother of Virabhadra, because the succeeding verse narrates something about Mahadeva's son).

(v-12) From Mahadeva and his wife Lakkamba was born, even as from Siva and Parvati, a son named Indusekhara"¹⁶

This particular passage is given data in general terms and no enumeration of the literal meaning can be seen. Due to the damage of the inscription we are failing to identify the relation between Virabhadra and Mahadeva. The editor simply says that Virabhadra would have been the younger brother of Mahadeva. Dr M Rama Rao, Sri Ch Virabhadra Rao and Sri K Lakshmi Ranjanam took him to his brother.¹⁶ It is quite conspicuous that Dr V Yasods Devi identified Mahadeva of Kolanapaka, with Mahadeva of Palakol alias Vishnuvardhana Chakravarti.¹⁷ As a result the issuer Virabhadra became the husband of Rudrambika, father of Virabhadra, the husband of Lakkambika. A re-examination of the text of Kolanupaka inscription which deals with the Chalukyan genealogy will be in the following way

Dr Pratibha Magal accused the editor for not translating the passage verbatim.¹⁸ It will be as

“Due to the luck of the world Virabhadra by name, became husband to her. (He was) dawning moon by beauty and sun by brilliance. The scholars understand his proficiency, the supplicants the munificence, the subordinates the command and the enemies the prowess. (He was) the eldest of the ocean of the Chalukya family. His glory is making the enemies to take rescue in the darkness at the end of the directions. A prince by name Indusekhara, was born to Mahadeva, as (Karttikeya) Kumara to Siva, through Lakkamba. The son of Indusekhara took, joy personally in having rich progeny. He is trying to satisfy the scholars and enemies through munificence and war again and again (respectively)”

Actually there is a lacunae in the passage. The scribe had erred, ‘Nandane’ for ‘Nandano’. The verse 12 is attributed to Mahadeva himself. Then the passage will be

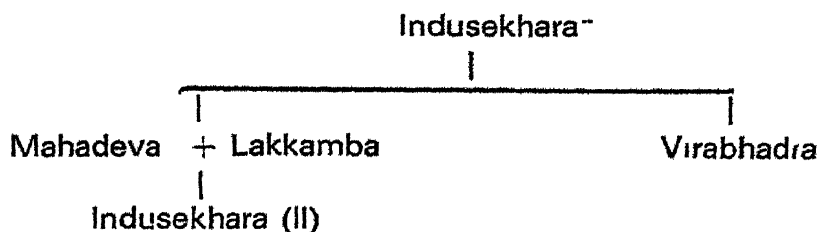
Line 76 “

Indusekhara Narendra-

77 nandano nandati svayam = a-

78 sesa-nandane /

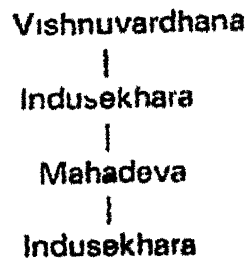
Here it has already been referred that Mahadeva was the son of Indusekhara and the father of Indusekhara (II) through Lakkamba. Then the genealogy of the dynasty will be as .



Actually here the reference to the relationship between Indusekhara and his son Virabhadra to Mahadeva and his son Indusekhara is vague due to the discrepancies of the texts and the dispute amongst the fads. This requires a further clarification.

Uttarasvaram Grant of Indusekhara II-1'

The inscription dated 1287 A.D registers the donation of the Uttaresvaram village by Indusekhara. Herein the genealogy is quite self-explanatory and it solves problems. It is in the following way



In the light of this inscription, we can simply understand that Mahadeva alone was referred by the term "*Indusekhara Narendra nandane*" of Kolanupaka. Secondly we can understand that he was the brother of Virabhadra, evidently younger, because it refers to Virabhadra as *Jyestha*.²⁰ Thirdly, we can lend support to point out the above mentioned scribal error that is 'nandano' but not 'nandane'.

We have an inscription from Juttiga which is referring to Virabhadra.²¹ The genealogy of that inscription was quite supportive of the data of the Kolanupaka inscription and it is rather an earlier evidence to trace the marriage between Kakati Rudrama Devi and Chalukya Virabhadra. The genealogy is



The entire problems of the genealogy of the Nidadavolu Chalukyas may be summarised as

1. The inscriptions from Palakol pose a problem from the view of Haihaya dynasty in identifying Mahadeva with Vishnuvardhana.

2. Kolanupaka gives vaguely a certain Mahadeva, a younger brother of Virabhadra and his son Indusekhara, according to a few scholars. But is not vague yet evident.

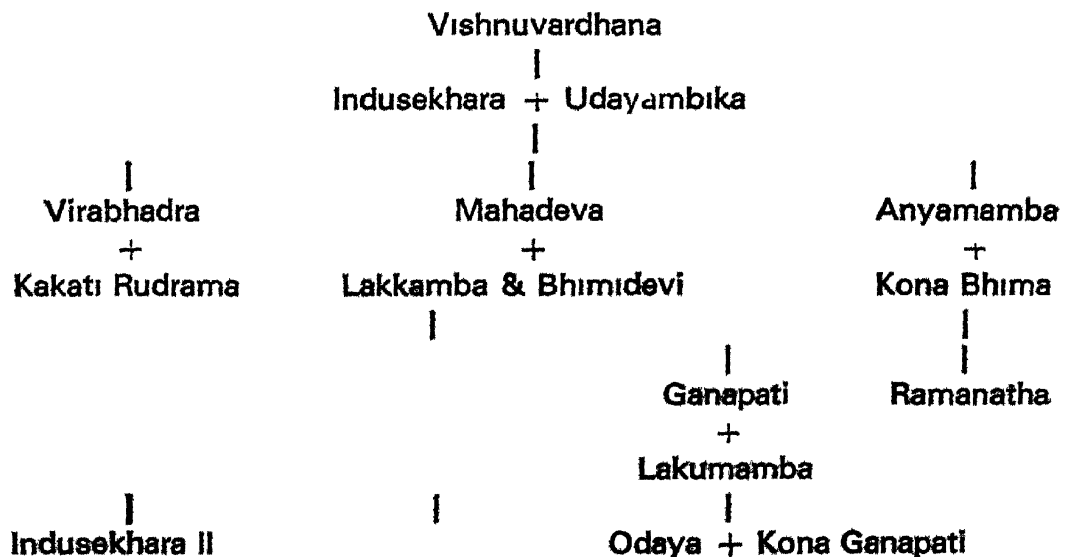
3. Uttaresvaram grant confirms Mahadeva and Indusekhara II

4 The Juttiga inscription also confirms the marriage between Chalukya Virabhadra and Kakati Rudrama

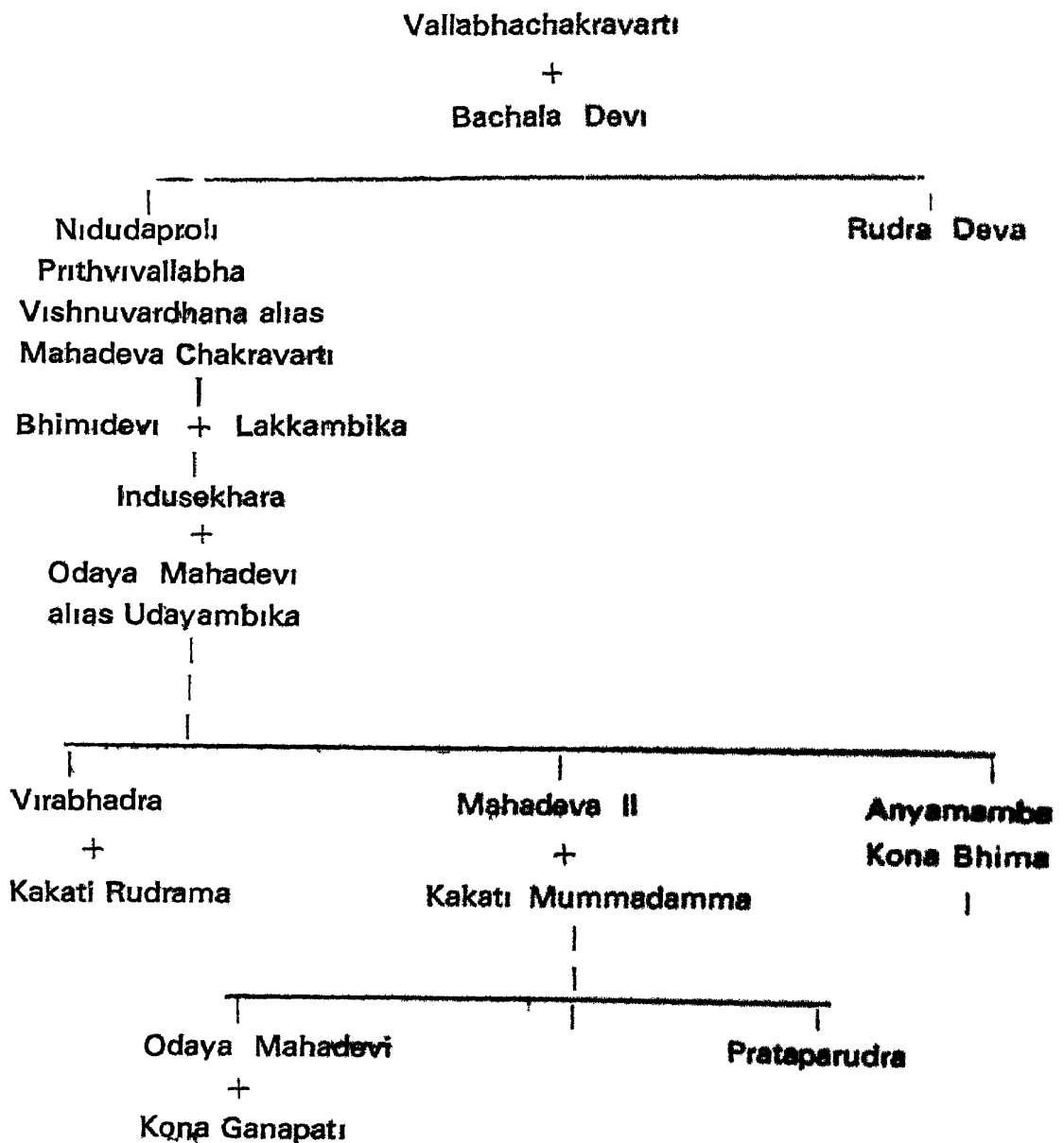
In view of the above points we have definite distinction between Nidudaproli Mahadeva Chakravarti of Nos 124 and 147 from Vishnuvardhana Maharaja of No 122 from Palakol

There is a point of doubt in the identification of Vishnuvardhana-deva Chakravarti and Bhimidevi of No 147, the parents of Toleti Indusekhara. The very problem is the date itself. The inscription is dated in 1300 A D. By 1300 A D according to the Uttaresvaram grant Indusekhara II was issuing the inscriptions in his own name. scholars like V Yasodadevi identified Indusekhara, the son of Vishnuvardhana. Here this Indusekhara is distinguished from Indusekhara the husband of Udayambika by a prefix Toleti. Yasodadevi told that it indicates Toleru a changed capital. When we let Toleru be the changed capital then the problem is when did they change. As generally, the capital changes during the period of decline. We can have it after the amalgamation of the dynasty with the Kakatiyas and then it will be during the times of Indusekhara II. The 1306 A D inscription of Pinodaya Mahadevi from Palakol gifting for the merit of her parents may make the surmise more feasible. Then the doubt is how Vishnuvardhana deva Chakravarti and Bhimidevi of this grant may be identified. As a solution we may have him to be identified with Mahadeva adding Bhimidevi also to the list of his wives.

By all these evidences we can get the consolidated genealogy in the following way.



Dr. Yasoda Devi propounded a genealogy of different of fashion and it is in the following way ²³



This genealogy is having the following defects :

1. From the view of Uttaresvaram grant of Indusekhara II all Mahadevas are not identical to all Vishnnuwardhanas .

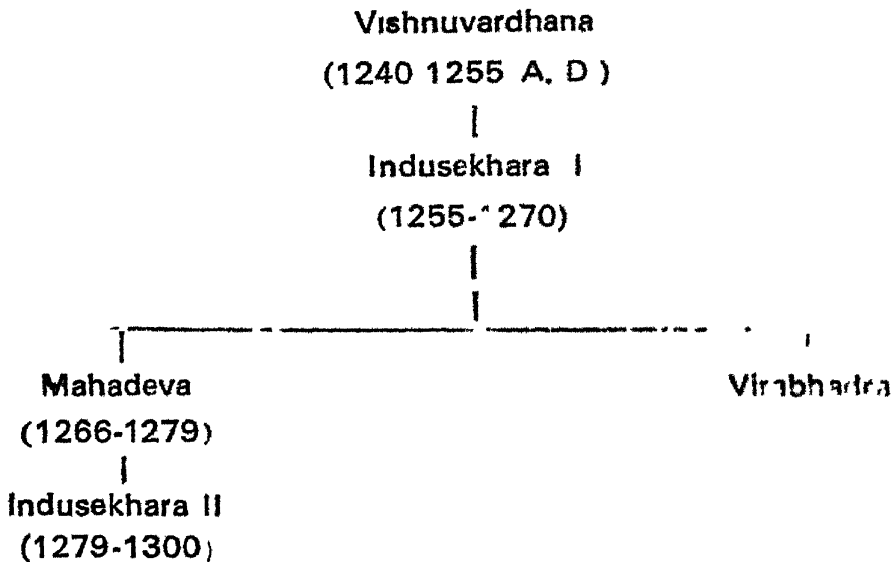
2 The marriage between Mahadeva II and Mummadamba was in no way accepted by the Dharma Sastra and it was said to be the most brutal error of the kind.²⁴

Chronology

Yaśodadevi concludes that Vishnuvardhana alias Mahadeva was the founder of the family of the Chalukyas of Nidadavolu and he ruled from 1266 to 1300 A. D.²⁵ The next ruler Indusekhara was given a rule of 6 years upto 1306 A. D. Mahadeva II was said to be the ruler contemporary with Prataparudra upto 1323 A. D.

This chronology is defective as the inscriptions come since 1259 A. D. and no reference was made to the line, by that time. The extension of the line also cannot be made upto 1323 A. D. from the view of the evidence coming newly. The Uttareswarau grant is the latest, datable to 1287 A. D. The inscriptions after 1287 A. D. were a few in number, four only during 1300 A. D. an inscription of Udayamahadevi and another of Indusekhara which we can assign it to the period of Indusekhara II, during 1306 A. D. an inscription of Udaya Mahadevi, during 1318 an inscription of Ramanatha son of Kona Bhima all from Palakollu. Except Indusekhara II's inscription all are belonging to Haihaya family. Hence the latest limit may be extended to 1300 A. D. No inscription of Vishnuvardhana, the so called founder of the line was there. But his antiquity may be extended to 1259 A. D. as Juttiga inscription of that time is a record during the times of the grand-son of Vishnuvardhana. When we take that Mahadeva of Nos 127 and 124 referring to Mahadeva the father of Indusekhara II he would have gone to heaven by 1306 A. D. It can also be said as felt by K. Lakshmi Rajan²⁶ and Dr. Pratibha Magal²⁷ that Virabhadra ceased to live by 1266 A. D. Since Virabhadra died in 1266 A. D. and Mahadeva's death was indicated by 1306 A. D. it could be taken that he could have come to an end by 1279 where his record comes. Since no other reference has been made to any of the line we can take it granted that Indusekhara II was introduced to the sovereignty by 1279 A. D., when Kolanapaka inscription was issued during the times of Mahadeva wherein along with Mahadeva's servant Potinayaka, Indusekhara II also issued a few gifts to the Lord. Therein the Kolanapaka inscription, the verse 12 referred to Mahadeva and not to Indusekhara II and the term "Lemkas tasy akalamkah" refers to Potinayaka's affiliation to Mahadeva but not to Indusekhara II. From 1279 onwards, we can account the existence of Indusekhara which may be extended upto 1300 A. D. as his record from Toluru at Palakol is pointing out. By that time he could have already seen Pratapa Rudra ruling from Wangal. The basis for that contention is firstly, 1306 inscription from Palakol²⁸ refers to Mahadeva being gifted for the merit by his daugh-

ter Mahadevi , and secondly the Uttaresvaram grant of Indusekhara was issued during 1287 A D wherein Prataparudra was mentioned By 1306 inscription from Palakol we can take it for granted that after 1279, i. e., the issue of Kolanupaka inscription Mahadeva would have died The chronology can be framed in the following way



In this chronology the following basic principles were followed .

1 Since we have considered No 147 of Palakollu a record of Indusekhara II his rule could come upto 1300 A. D and 1279 the Kolanupaka grant was taken as the beginning of his rule at the late hour of his father Mahadeva.

Kolanupaka is taken to have issued during the times of Mahadeva, sufficiently at a late time that is 1279 A. D. when his son Indusekhara II was of sufficient age and he could have ruled independent of his father his country when they would have become de jure by the death of Virabhadra in 1266 A. D.

3. Virabhadra is assigned no regnal year as such as his main contribution was to the Kakatiya family.

4. Since Indusekhara I and Vishnuvardhana were not issuers any record each is given 15 years of rule. The terminus of Indusekhara I was extended for a span of four years since 1266 as his queen donated a grant for the merit of her son Virabhadra, where, upto 1270 Mahadeva would have associated him on the throne. Hence we can have the dynasty to come up in 1240 A. D. and would have ended by 1300 A. D.

Achievement

The achievement of the individual rulers is not depicted evidently in the inscriptions themselves. In general the rulers were credited with valour and munificence. The inscriptions from Nidadavolu mention a host of temples. They indicate that almost all the rulers of the line extended their patronage to the religious institutions. Actually the personal achievements were not descriptively coming forth. It has been told by V Yasoda Devi that Mahadeva was said to be Prithvivallabha in Mallipudi grant after 1297 and he can well be not Vishnuvardhana but Mahadeva the father of Indusekhara II. Mahadeva would have ruled from Nidadavolu and Indusekhara II would have ruled from Toleru, as he is mentioned in his Palakollu inscription as Toleti Indusekhara. The titles like Prithvivallabha, and Sarvalokasraya may mean that their authority could have been extended upon a considerable territory. Its southern most limit would be Kolleru lake which region was ruled by the Kolanus.

NOTES

1. *S I I*, Vol X No 360
2. *S I I*, Vol V, 117
3. "Kulpak Inscription No 13" *A corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts of H. E. H. Nizam's dominions* by P. Srinivasachari pp 82-88 Part II
4. *S I I*, Vol V, No 111
5. *Ibid*, Vol V, No 122
6. Kulpak Inscription cited above.
7. *A. R.* 19 of 1961-62
8. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XXI (1950-52), p 73
9. *Kakatiya Rudra Devi* - 1971, Waltair, unpublished thesis submitted for Doctoral Degree by Pratibha Magal, P
10. *Ibid*, p. 46.
11. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol XXI (1950-52), p 73
12. *Kakatiya Rudra Devi*, pp. 24-69, p. 24 ff
13. No. 13, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts of the H. E. H. Nizam's Dominions* by Sri P. Srinivasachari, pp 82-88
14. *Ibid.*, pp 83-84
15. *Ibid*, pp. 86-87.
16. A citation in *Kakatiya Rudra Devi*, by Dr. Pratibha Magal, pp. 38-39.
17. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XXI (1950-52), p 73

18 *Kakatiya Rudra Devi*, p 35 ff

19 *A R* 13 of 1961-62

20 It is quite condoning that Dr P Srinivasachar, in his editorial note of Kulpak inscription though mentioned Mahadeva as the brother of Virabhadra did not mention the latter as elder In P 18 of the introduction of Prataparudra caritramu, Sri K Lakshmi Rajaniam wrote that "According to Kolanupak inscription Indusekhara was born to Mahadeva and Lakkamba in Chalukya family. Their elder son was Virabhadra Some scholars say that another son is there and cites in a foot note the contention of Dr P. Srinivasachar This is quite contrary to the present view and in confirmity with the view of Dr V. Yasoda Devi

21 *S. I I*, Vol X, No. 360

22. *J. A H. R S*, Vol. XXI (1950-52), pp 73 & 74.

23 This deduced from her discussion in the text and she did not provide the same in text personally It is also based on her Pasavemala inscription's evidence

24 *Kakatiya Rudra Devi*, p. 35 ff

25 *J A H. R S*, Vol XXI (1950-52), p. 73.

26 *Pratapa Rudra Caritram* Introduction p 49.

27 *Kakattya Rudra Devi* p 10

28. *S I I* Vol V, No 124

THE LEPAKSHI TEMPLE

Dr V KAMESWARA RAO, M A , Ph D.

Vijayanagara period was a period when prince'y encouragement was given to art which is manifestly clear from the external structural remains of the age. Vijayanagara temples built in their entirety during the period of the rule of the Rayas are found in Rayalseema at places like Lepakshi, Tadipatri, Penugonda, Nagalapuram and Sompalem. The Lepakshi temple is a treasure-house of the mural paintings of the Vijayanagara period.

Lepakshi is a small village situated nine miles to the east of Hindupur, the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the Ananthapur district. Lepakshi is situated 300 miles from Hyderabad city and 65 miles from Bangalore and is conveniently accessible by road and train from both these cities.

There is a popular legend about this temple which runs as follows. A certain Virupanna was the treasurer and the chief of the local merchant guild in the time of Achyutaraya (1530-1542 A. D.), the emperor of Vijayanagar. He conceived the idea of constructing a temple at Lepakshi because the image of Virabhadra was found here. He used the tribute due to the king for this purpose. He had practically finished the building and was actually supervising the completion of the Kalyanamantapa, when the king returned and found his treasury empty. The King ordered that Virupanna should be blinded. Virupanna, being a loyal servant carried out on the spot with his own hands, this order, and to this day two dark stains are shown on the west wall of the southern entrance of the inner enclosure, which are said to be the marks made by his eyes which he himself dashed against the wall. The builder of the temple did not survive long after this and hence the Kalyanamantapa was left unfinished.

Inscriptions in the temple range from 1530 A. D. onwards and record a number of donations including a Kanchanameru by Achyutaraya himself.

One interesting feature of temple architecture of this age was to build massive fortification walls around as though the temple was a fort. Invariably hills or natural eminences were chosen and some times more than one prakara wall was built and in the space in between these the villagers had their dwellings. The Lepakshi temple is one such temple.

The temple has been built on a low lying hill called Kurmasaila and the main shrine of Virabhadra faces the north. It has two enclosures built in cyclopean masonry. The outer enclosure has three gateways on the north, east and west, but two of them are closed. The opening in the north has a gopura. The base of this gopura is tall with dance sequences of women on a moulding. The flat surface of the vertical wall is relieved by pilasters, punjaras, kumbha-panjaras, salakoshtas etc. The superstructure is in brick and only one storey is in tact. The door jambs of the entrance have representations of beautiful women standing under a creeper, and a vertical row of circles with figures of dancers and musicians shown all along the full length of jamb. The inner enclosure has a pillared corridor or cloister running around. The pillars that went into the construction are of the variety with a central stem and one pillaret projecting surmounted by a capital.

The main shrine occupies the central position of the inner court. It faces north, consists of a garbhagriha antarala, surrounded by a pradakshinapatha, mukhamantapa, a pillared corridor outside the mantapa and the natyamantapa. At right angles to the mukhamantapa is the shrine of Vishnu facing the east. Opposite to it is arranged another smaller shrine which goes by the name Papanasa Isvara. To the south of this temple of Siva is a small chamber used as a Sayanagriha or Sayanagara. The temple of Parvati, the consort of Siva is to its south. Numerous other shrines like those of Ramalingeswara, Kali, Hanumalinga and an open Veda with Navagrahas are arranged along the outer wall of the pradakshinapatha.

The most interesting part of this temple is its painted ceiling. These paintings which cover the entire roof surfaces are masterpieces of the Vijayanagara style. The Lepakshi paintings have been executed in the tempera or fresco secco technique. The stone surface was plastered and then given a thin coating of lime. The paintings were drawn on the dry surface with vegetable colours and lamp black. The colours used here are simple, the colour scheme being composed of red, blue, yellow, green black and white. The different shades are laid without any complex blending. The paintings of the Natyamantapa include large-sized scenes from the Mahabharata, the

Ramayana and the Puranas, including a representation of child Krishna as Vatapatrasayi, resting on a pipal tree, sucking the of his foot raised to his mouth with both his hands. The scenes of the marriage of Parvati, Dakshinamurthi, Cama's coronation, Arjuna, shooting the moving piscine target are drawn with skill. The series also include the story of Arjuna's penance for the divine Pasupata weapon, Siva and Parvati playing chess and the story of Manuchola. There is also here representation in painting of Virupanna and Viranna, with their retinue receiving sacred ashes from the priests of their tutelary deity Virabhadra.

The ceiling of the pillared corridor outside the mukhamantapa is covered with paintings showing different forms of Siva such as Andhakasurasamharamurti, Dakshinamurti, Ardhanarisvara, Gangadhara, Chandesanugraha murti, Bhikshatanamurti, Harihara, Siva as Kalyana Sundaramurti, Tripurantakamurti, and Nataraja.

By far the grandest is a gigantic figure of Virabhadra painted on the ceiling of the mukhamantapa of the Virabhadra shrine. And inspiring, not only for its sheer size but also for its very look it is quite different from all other deity paintings of the temple. At the bottom of the figure of Virabhadra, we can see Virupanna in the attitude of doing obeisance to the deity.

The painted panels that adorn the ceiling of the mukhamantapa of the Vishnu shrine show the ten incarnations of Vishnu.

The pillars of the mantapas are massive and are of different varieties. Those that went into the making of Natayamantapa (80' x 45') and Kalyanamantapa deserve special mention. There are composite pillars with 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 pillarets attached to them, the chitrakhandas type showing ornamental representation of miniature temples and lastly pillars with images carved on the shafts. The Natayamantapa is supported on seventy exquisitely sculptured pillars, the twelve pillars in the centre forming a court. The columns of the central group bear almost life size representation of musicians and dancers carved with much spirit and freedom. The figures of Brahma playing the drum, Tumburu thrumming the strings of the Vina, Nandikesvara playing the hudduka, a divine danseuse, may be Rambha dancing and a prominent figure of Nataraja are amongst the noteworthy sculptures adorning these pillars. The ceiling of the court formed by the twelve central piers show varieties of lotuses with a prominent pericap.

The Kalyanamantapa is a veritable Indrasabha with all the celestial personages attending the marriage of Parvati and Siva.

The Nandi . The Nandi of Lepakshi is considered to be one of the biggest in India . The bull is depicted in the characteristic pose of nandi, it is noticeable, however, that the head is held aloft at a higher angle than is usual. Consequently the expression of submission which is typical of Nandi lying before Siva, is conspicuous by its absence here. From the stand point of the proper proportion in the formation of the various limbs and the excellent finish secured in the workmanship, the Lepakshi Nandi is a good piece of art of the Vijayanagara period. Like the big Nagalingam, this monolith is said to have been casually carved by a party of workmen in an off hour while waiting for their meals . It is a remarkable piece of work, being about fifteen feet high some twenty seven in length and finished with great care

Lepakshi temple, like several other Vijayanagara temples in South India is a treasure house of varied types of subjects in sculpture . Of these, by far the most numerous and splendid products are the sculptures of gods and goddesses . But the sculptor has employed his skill in depicting other subjects as well, though they mainly serve as auxiliaries to the religious themes. The various kinds of subjects in sculpture are floral designs, natural scenery, animals and birds, human figures, gods, goddesses and other divine figures. The Lepakshi temple, with its rich sculptural and pictorial wealth is a magnificent tribute to Vijayanagar art and the art of India.

LAND AS PRIVATE PROPERTY DURING THE VIJAYANAGAR TIMES

KAMBHAMPATI SATYANARAYANA

It is a common belief that private property in land did not emerge in India until the East India Company introduced the Ryotwari system in the early part of the 19th Century. Foreign travellers were unequivocal in stating that ownership of land vested in the state. The British historians mostly held that the village community was the joint owner of the land. I have tried to discuss here some aspects of the problem relying on primary as well as secondary sources.

Nuniz, the Portuguese traveller who visited Vijayanagar during the sixteenth century, stated that the king was the owner of the soil. "All the land," according to him, "belongs to the king, and from his hand the captains hold it. They made it over to husbandmen, who pay nine-tenths to their lord, and they have no land of their own."¹ A number of inscriptions, however, give a lie to his statement. Eight forms of ownership are referred to in land grants. The Nallur grant of Harihara II and the Pongalur grant of Tirumala I mention them. They are treasures, deposits, stones, water, actuals, outstanding, imperishables and future produce. These eight are mentioned as "the eight enjoyments" (*ashta-bhoga*) "with the right to present, mortgage and sell."

What was granted was the right of ownership as well as enjoyment. No confusion need arise between them, because they included the right to present, mortgage and sell.

Purushottama, the ruler of the Gajapathi Kingdom and a contemporary of the Vijayanagar kings, endowed the village of Potavarani in

Ongole taluk of Guntur district with the eight forms of usufruct (*ishta-bogha tejasvamyamu*) They are, according to *Epigraphia Indica*, the following "nidhi (treasure-trove), Nikshepa (property deposited in the land and not claimed by another), pashana (mines etc.), sil'ina (lands etc yielding produce), sadhya, (produce from such lands)' waters, privileges which may be conferred "'

The above note must dispel any doubt about the ownership of land that was granted to Brahmins or temples for religious or charitable purposes

The emperor, Achyutaraya, granted a village to a scholar, Ramachandra Dikshita, who, in turn, split it into 110 plots and distributed them among 46 brahmins. Commenting over the grant, the editor of the grant says "With the grant of the village go also the rights over the property therein. The king reserves for himself no right over the village granted. The villages as the inscription says, is given as ekabhogya, which implies the exclusive ownership of the property and the rights over it by a single individual. In effect, however it is found that the land is not ekabhogya, as part of it is divided among others and a portion reserved for the gods. The land which is thus enjoyed by two or more parties goes by the name of ganabhogya or tribhogya. The term, ekabhogya, in the particular context can be explained only by the fact that the grant was made in the first instance only to one individual, Ramachandra Dikshita, who divided the land among the brahmins of his sect. It is, moreover, not clear whether, as in the original grant, Ramachandra Dikshita gave to the brahmins along with the land allotted, the ownership rights over it also. Perhaps the rights over the property were reserved by the donor, the donee being allowed only the enjoyment of the fruits accruing from the land."⁴

A stone inscription from Kalahasti records the sale of a village, during Achyutaraya's reign, to a temple by one Rudra Sivacharya "to liquidate the debts he had incurred in connection with the worship offerings."⁵ Another inscription from Penukonda in Anantapur district refers to the grant of several villages to the temple during the reign of Sri Rangaraya, they were all purchased ones.⁶

We also notice a number of instances of chieftains and state dignitaries; including governors and ministers, purchasing lands from brahmins for charitable or religious purposes.⁷

Even the tax-free agraharas were sold by the descendants of the donee, though they were granted as hereditary property.

An inscription from Lepakshi, dated 1531, records a royal order to the effect that the "ownership" of two villages, Chaluvind'a and Ganapatihalli, were granted to one Virupanna" ⁹

According to another record from Chilamakur in Cuddapah district, dated 1382, the sthanapati or trustee of the temple sold his half share of land to two persons on the refusal of the other sthanapatis to pay their own share of debt ¹⁰

Similar instances of sale and purchase of lands for purposes of charity or worship are recorded in inscriptions ¹¹

We have three copper-plate inscriptions from Nellore district, which specifically add a clause, "subject to the right of gift, mortgage, sale or transfer", while conferring the right of ownership on the donee ¹² In Udayagiri taluk of the same district is recorded the sale of a dasabandha tank along with the plot of land irrigated by it, by one Bayichana Boyudu. The sale deed runs thus "We have sold you the dasabandha tank constructed by us at Boyavidu and Kudichalapada in Udayagiri sima. You may enjoy all the income derived from this land in perpetuity" ¹³

In Chittoor district a few grants record the sale of house-sites to the temple-treasury by certain devotees "with the right to sell, mortgage, exchange, partition and grant" ¹⁴ According to another inscription, a devotee obtained a deed of proprietary for a land from the pallis (a class of cultivators) of Tirupati, raised crops, harvested them and paid money in accordance with the document of possession secured from the pallis ¹⁵

A local record of the fifteenth century collected by Mackenzie, refers to sales and purchases effected by a Revenue farmer, who was in control of a number of villages in Bellamkonda sima in Guntur district. The area was affected by famine in 1402. Some of the mirasidars (village officers owning lands) left their villages, but returned after a time. A more severe famine infected the area for twelve years (1442-54). Some of the hard pressed among the mirasidars sought the help of Mantrayya for the alleviation of their distress. The latter purchased two of the villages, Kondakavul and Gurupalli, for 160 varahas, valued at 80. The same Mantrayya purchased three more villages Velukuru and Nandibhimavaram, for 140 varahas. Finding the bargain lucrative, the karnam of Gadalaparu sold half of his mirasi to another karnam. Similarly, the brahmins of Cherukur sold their lands to the niyogi brahmins bearing the surname Kosarajulu. Yet another village, Pulavartipadu, was sold to the

karnams of Bhattiprolu. The rest who could afford to stay continued to be the owners of their mirasis. The lingayats of Kamarajugadda, Chatragadda departed. The brahmins of Monukur followed suit. Some among their disciples occupied the lands, enjoying their possession. After some years the original owners returned and expelled the occupants. The ownership of some lands was challenged by some. In this confusion the state was deprived of revenue. Old land grants remained ineffective. For instance, a local chief, Jalapalli Rangapati Rao, presented 30 tumus of land, divided into two plots and situated in West Gudipude, to a devadasi, Padmasani, for performance of daily worship in the temple. But, the karnam of Abbur challenged the right of Rangapati Rao to issue the grant, stating that the said plots were parts of his village. "These two were purchased prior to the grant of Rangapati Rao, the mirasidars had sold them off and left the village. There were no sales of land prior to him, for the first time they sold their mirasis and migrated to other lands" ¹⁶

We thus find for the first time evidence of the sale of lands for non-religious purposes under the impact of famines.

Land transactions as a commercial proposition cannot emerge under conditions of self-sufficiency, with extensive areas of virgin land all around. It was only then village self-sufficiency was broken under the impact of colonial exploitation that land assumed the form of a commodity. Why should anybody buy or sell land when plenty of it was available for cultivation and everyone was free to cultivate it?

With the decline of the power of the village assembly and its replacement by the village officers, private property in land became more pronounced than before. The karnam, the Reddi and the Talari were state officials in charge of village administration. The first two, besides enjoying the mirasi lands, appropriated considerable income from unauthorised cultivation, thus depriving the government of a part of its revenue. They also collected perquisites from the peasants on account of their hold over the village. The peasants submitted to their demands because of the fear of false reports about the extent of the land they cultivated.

During this period a curious system of land tenure, known as the *visabadi* system, arose in certain districts like Cuddapah and Nellore. Sir Thomas Munro described it in his letter to the Board of Revenue, Madras, in 1801. According to him, there existed many villages since Vijayanagar rule where holders of land held the village plots in common. There differed in size and fertility, they were distributed every five or six years, so that each holder obtained equal returns at the end of each term. This system "was a means of resisting and of bearing up against the heavy assessment imposed."

According to this system, land-holders settled among themselves the exact proportion of the rent or tax that each was to pay to the chief or state official. The land as well as the rent to be paid by each landholder was divided into sixteen shares (the word *visabadi* means one-sixteenth). When the season for tilling the soil approached, all the holders assembled together to regulate their rent for the year. They collected detailed information about the amount of agricultural stock that each individual and the whole community possessed, as well as the extent of land to whose cultivation it was adequate. Accordingly, they divided it in such a way that each holder was allotted a portion which he had the means to cultivate, fixing his share of the rent. Thus, the shares were allotted by quarters, one-eighths, one-sixteenths, one-thirty seconds or one-sixty fourths. Each paid his proportion, whether his share was one-sixteenths or two-sixteenths, whether the total rent be higher or lower than the previous year.

This system, appearing to be an equitable one, hides the exploitation of feudal lords and their agents.

Under the *visabadi* system, when the holding were subject to redistribution, the question, to whom they belonged was irrelevant. The really important thing was the division of the produce, which, as far as the land-holder was concerned, was regulated by the contribution that each made to the common stock. As the state also claimed a share (which was generally the lion's share) very little of the common product remained for distribution, thus reducing the system to a farce. Where it allowed the landholder something in the nature of surplus over and above the expenses, the feeling of private property would naturally arise.

Stratton, a revenue expert under the East India Company, explained the emergence of private property in land thus. "The ultimate test of proprietary right in land is the receipt of rent, and it will be found that those persons to whom the law gives the right of enjoying the whole or part of the rent, as such, are virtually in the position of owners of the soil. Such were the expectations under the Muhammadan rule that a proprietary right in the soil almost ceased to exist."¹⁸

What Stratton, stated about the Muhammadan rule applies with equal force to the Vijayanagar kings. About their rule Venkataramanayya says "The government appears to have been very oppressive and tyrannical in its treatment of the peasants, who tilled the soil. They were allowed, according to Nuniz, to retain only a tenth of the produce, the remaining being taken from them either by the government

or the amaranayakas as their share A survey of the inscriptions of the period reveals the fact that the grasping hand of the tax-collector was indeed very active "1"

This, perhaps was the reason which impelled Nuniz to state that the land under Vijayanagar rulers belonged to the King

Sir Thomas Munro, in his letter to the Board of Revenue, analysed the situation in the following terms "According to tradition, it (land revenue-K S) was paid in kind in the proportion of half the produce, and this half was converted for money at a price unfavourable to the cultivator, a circumstance which must have been an insurmountable bar not only to the establishment of private property in land, but also every kind of agricultural improvement "2"

To sum up, the problem may be stated thus . In so far as there were sales and purchases, private property in land thrived But these sales and purchases were for religious or charitable purposes Famines acted as a spur for private acquisition of land through purchase The replacement of the village assembly by village officials as the servants of the state encouraged this tendency But, in so far as the peasant was left with nothing to purchase, the question of sales and purchases as a commercial proposition did not arise His poverty impeded the emergence of private property in land

NOTES

- 1 Robert Sewell *A Forgotten Empire* New Delhi, 1910, p 380
- 2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p 126 2 *Ibid*, Vol XVI, p. 257
- 3 *Ibid*, Vol XIII, p 84, Foot-note
- 4 *Ibid*., Vol. XIV, p. 313, (Kalsadi Plates of Achyutaraya)
- 5 *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy (A. R. S. I. E.)* 1925, stone inscription No. 179
- 6 *South Indian Inscriptions (S. I. I.)*, Vol VII, inscription No. 569

- 7 *S I I.*, Vol. IX, 438 (Hospet taluk) 453 (Srisailem), 540 (Lepakshi) 582 (Lepakshi), 587 (Lepakshi) 588 (Lepakshi), 590 (Lepakshi), 591 (Budih Anantapur dt)
- 8 *Ibid*, Vol IX, 580, 587 and 588 (Lepakshi)
9. *Ibid*, Vol IX' 537
- 10 *Ibid*, Vol. XVI, p 6.
11. *Topographical List of Inscriptions from Madras Presidency*, Vol I 56, 73, 78 and 116 of Anantapur dt, 90, 91, 92 and 391 of Cuddapah dt Vol II, 458, 460, 570, 580 and 585 of Kurnool dt
- 12 *Nellore District inscriptions (N D I)* C P 6 (Mangalapad), C P 10 (Polepalli) and C P 14 (Mamidipudi)
- 13 *Ibid*, Vol III, Udayagiri (46)
14. *T. T. Devasthanam Epigraphical Series (T T D)* Vol I, 204 and 205
15. *Ibid*, Vol II 24.
16. *Mackenzie's Local Tracts*, M, 387, pp 77-89
- 17 *Cuddapah District Gazetteer*, p 147
- 18 Stratton, quoted by the *Manual of Nellore District*, pp 270-271
19. N Venkataramanayya *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Madras, 1933 pp. 243-241
- 20 *Cuddapah District Gazetteer*, p 147

THE BATTLE OF PADMANABHAM

E. NAGAMAMBA

The Battle of Padmanabham was a crucial event in the course of British expansion on the northern part of the Coromandel coastal region which was formerly called as the Chicacole Circar. The Vizianagaram principality of the Pusapatis was the prominent power not only in this but throughout the Coastal Circars. Their domain effectively extended up to Rajahmundry. The British found it an obstacle in their way and followed the policy of extermination of the political existence of this principality since they acquired the Northern Circars. This policy culminated in the battle of Padmanabham.

The Vizianagaram principality rose as a political power during the rule period of Vijayarama Raju I, 1713-1758. He was the descendant of Madhava Varma. He and his successors gradually built up the power of the Pusapatis. Its power reached the climax under Raju or Ananda Gajapati I. The battle of Padmanabham which marks the end of Vizianagaram principality as a political power took place at the close of the reign period of Vijayarama Raju II, 1760-1794.

It may be noted that in the prevailing political conditions in the Deccan of the 18th century, local potentates such as the Pusapatis of Vizianagaram became prominent as there was growing laxity of higher authorities, namely the Moghul Emperor and his subahdar of Deccan. It is known from the correspondence of the East India Company of this period that during the time of 'Vijayaram' who is described as 'A Raja of the country about mandapam'¹ the struggle of Vizianagaram for freedom from Muhammadan domination continued in full vigour and success. A letter from Mr Wescott, Chief of Vizagapatnam to the Governor of Fort St. George of 26th April 1753 refers to 'Vijayarama Raj' who removed his capital from Komula to Vizianagaram where he

built the present fort in 1715 and the territory under him now greatly augmented. 'In the wars of supremacy between the English and the French his friendship and aid was anxiously sought by both parties each trying to outdo the other in pleasing him'. In 1753 Bussy, the French general obtained from Salabat Jung, the Subahdar of Deccan, the cession of four of the Northern Circars (except Guntur) for the support of his troops. This arrangement was not liked by all the influential men in the Court of the Nizam and as a consequence of which an anti-French party came into existence every where in the Ceded Circars. The then fouzdar of Chicacole, Jafar Ali was determined to resist the claims of the French when Bussy sent his officer M. Moracin to take possession of the French acquisitions, Jafar Ali persuaded Viziamamaraju to join him in opposing the French entry. However, the French seduced him from the compact by promising him the lease of the circars of Rajahmundry and Chicacole at a very favourable rate. Then, Jafar Ali called in the help of the Marathas. A battle took place at Tummapalem near Anakapalli in 1756 in which the raja gained a complete victory. The maratha danger was overcome and the friendship with the French became closer and more intimate. ⁴ Vijayaramaraju was clever and diplomatic and never lost an opportunity to improve his position and better his prospects. When the opposition to Bussy became much stronger in Hyderabad and when he was practically besieged in the garden of Charmu, Viziamamaraju was the only chief that proved still a friend to him. 'He ordered his agents at Hyderabad to assure M. Bussy of his fidelity and the regular payment of his tributes'. When he was in dire need of money the Raja sent him a large sum of gold and promised to send more if necessary. Bussy was relieved of all his difficulties and in 1756 left Hyderabad to settle the affairs of the Circar. In this context Viziamamaraju utilised his friendship with the French 'to gratify a long-standing animosity against his bitterest enemy, the chief of Bobbili'. This famous battle of Bobbili was fought on 24th January, 1757. Three nights afterwards Viziamamaraju, the victor of Bobbili, was killed in his tent by some of the Bobbili Sardars.

By this time the power of Viziamamaraju was very extensive. He farmed out the revenues of Chicacole and Rajahmundry Circars and added to the influence already wielded by his house in these parts. He was very shrewd and tactful, to be on friendly terms with both the French and the English. Writing to the Governor of Fort St George on the 25th November, 1726 Viziamamaraju says 'There was an agreement between us and our friendship is sincere.'⁵

The friendship between the French and Puspatis did not however continue after the death of Viziamamaraju. His adopted son

and successor, Anandraj suspected the French duplicity and preferred the friendship of the English. The French complicity in the assassination of his father was suspected by the English also. Reporting on that event the Chief of Vizagapatam writes to the President of the Fort St. George 'some people imagine the assassination of Vizianamaraju was perpetrated by Rangarao's relations out of revenge. Others think the French at the bottom of it as they were certainly jealous of his regard for us'.⁸ From Bobbili, Bussy marched north and reduced several local chiefs and zamindars into submission, sent his troops to capture the English factories at Injaram, Madapollom and Bendamurlanka and was prepared to attack the Vizagapatnam settlement. This activity to establish total domination of the French menaced and alarmed both the English and Vizianagaram.

Anandaraju dissatisfied with the arrangements made by M. Bussy on the death of his predecessor, had waited for "an opportunity to take his revenge".⁹ As soon as Bussy was summoned south Anandaraj had made overtures to the English in Madras and when he became convinced of the paucity of their troops would not allow him to hope for any assistance from the quarter he had transmitted similar proposals to Bengal.¹⁰ He captured Vizagapatam from the French 'hailed down the French and planted the English flag'.¹⁰ He invited the English to join him in expelling the French from the Northern Circars. 'The project seemed delusive or chimerical to all but Clive'. Clive decided at once to send Colonel Forde with a force of 500 Europeans to Vizagapatam. Mr. Johnstone was sent in advance to make necessary arrangements with Anandaraj. The forces of Forde joined the Rajah at Kasimkota and the combined armies of the allies began to march slowly towards Rajahmundry. Various excuses were employed by the Rajah to extenuate this delay; but the real cause was his repugnance to furnish the money which Colonel Forde demanded.¹¹ These differences were adjusted through the mediation of Andrews, a personal friend of Anandaraj and a treaty was concluded by the allies in 1758. 'It stipulated that all plunder should be equally divided, that all the countries which might be conquered should be delivered to the Rajah, who was to collect the revenue, but that the sea ports and towns at the mouths of the rivers should belong to the Company with the avenues of the districts annexed to them'. That no treaty for the disposal or restitution whether of the Rajah's or the English possessions should be made without the consent of both parties, that the Rajah should supply 50,000 rupees a month for the expenses of the army and 6,000 rupees to commence from their arrival at Vizagapatam for the particular expenses of the officers.¹² The Treaty clearly reveals the position of Anandaraj as an ally and an equal of the English and not as their dependent. The

allied forces moved south. The battle took place at Chandurti in 1759 or Condore where the French were totally defeated. The battle has been justifiably included among the decisive battles of India by Colonel Malleon. It led to the overthrow of the French supremacy in the Circars and their ultimate withdrawal from this area.

The allies pursued their victory up to Masulipatam and captured it. Salabat Jung who was waiting for the result of the contest entered into a treaty with the victor, the English. According to the treaty 'the whole territory dependent on Masulipatam' were granted to the English as an inam or free gift.¹³ Salabat Jung promised to drive away the French forces from the Circars. He also promised not to call Anandaraj to account for whatsoever he had collected out of the governments belonging to the French and for the tributes of his own countries for the present year, but he was hereafter to pay the same for them as he had been by Viziamaraj and the father of Viziamaraj. If Anandaraj failed in this stipulation Salabat Jung was left to treat him as he pleased.¹⁴

Meanwhile Rajahmundry was recaptured by the French. The allied armies of the English and Anandaraj recovered that place. Anandaraj recovered that place. He passed away in 1760 at Rajahmundry.

Anandaraj was the last independent and strong Rajah of Vizianagaram. The achievements of Anandaraj are thus described in a Telugu work.¹⁵ 'That crest jewel of kings begot Anandaraj which shone in this world while hostile kings of many countries did homage to his lotus-like feet. He drove out Bussy. By the prowess of his arm he crushed the Mussulmans and the soldiers of Parasus (French). He made alliance with the English and gave them all the sea ports. He gave chiefdoms to those leaders that served him. He ruled the country extending from Puri to Bezwada and from the sea to the Vindhya mountains'. During his brief but crucial reign, he showed himself to be ambitious, prudent and far-sighted. By his deeds he added to the strength of the English dominion in the Circars. (His victory at Masulipatam marked the summit of the glory of Vizianagaram from which it fell with a heavy crash).¹⁶

As Anandaraju died childless, Chadrayamma, the widow of his predecessor adopted Venkatapati raju, a boy of 12 years and a member of the Pusapati family and named him Viziamaraju, who with the title of Viziamaraj Gajapati was coronated as the successor to Sri Ananda Gajapati by the Nizam at Rajahmundry. The records testify to this.¹⁷

As the new Rajah was a minor power and influence fell into the hands of his half-brother Sitaramaraju. Sitaramaraju was able but ambitious. He felt jealous of his brother and involved him in numerous difficulties in course of time. He could do so because of the malleability of Vizianamaraju. Although he was lauded well the events of his reign show that his goodness contributed his main weakness. This facilitated Sitaramaraju's *de facto* government supported by British opportunism.¹⁸

During the years following 1760, Sitaramaraju, inspite of the defects in his character was mainly responsible for making Vizianagaram the largest principality in area and the highest in its power. The estates of Jeypore, Singavarapukota, Madgole, Satyavaram, Golugonda, Salur, Kotapalem, Kurupam, Anakapalli, Palakonda, Andra, Regulavalasa, Koram, Tyyda, Pachipenta, Sangamvalasa, Chemudu, Rajam and Narava were all tributary to the Vizianagaram Raj. The Peshkush due to the Nizam was often withheld owing to the weakness of the Nizam. The conquests of Sitaramaraju added enormously to the prestige and independence of Vizianagaram. He defeated and imprisoned the Rajah of Bobbili. He conquered the estate of Parlakimidi. As a measure against the recalcitrant hill chieftains, he imprisoned all of them in the Vizianagaram fort which made him very unpopular. Soon afterwards the various Zamindars formed a strong confederacy to throw off his domination. The internal administration of Sitaramaraju also provoked opposition.¹⁹ By the coercion of Kshatriya nobility he agreed to surrender on condition that his son should be recognised as the successor of Vizianamaraju II. But he continued his intrigues against his brother with the support of the British Government at Madras.

The British established their supremacy over the French first in the Karnatic in 1756. They established their power next year in the Bengal Subah. Between 1757 and 1763 they eliminated the French as a political power in the Deccan. In 1765 they became the protectors of the Moghul Emperor Shah Alam II who granted them Northern Circars. The Nizam who was already dependent upon the British implemented the imperial firman and concluded a treaty with the British in 1769. This treaty entirely contravened the Anglo Vizianagaram treaty of 1758 as it ignored Vizianagaram. The British obtained arbitrary authority over all the feudatories of the Nizam. They proceeded to substantiate it ignoring the protests of Vizianama Gajpati who regarded the Nizam as the suzerain of himself and the company.²⁰ This vindictive and arbitrary policy of the Madras Presidency was criticised even by the British historians like Gribble.²¹ He remarks that the Company subordinated its treaty with Vizianagaram to its treaty with the Nizam regarding the Northern Circars to promote its interests. He adds, in 1769 the condition of the affairs

of Deccan was very difficult to what it had been ten years previously. In 1758 we have not yet grasped Du Pleix's brilliant idea of an Indian empire. All that we then wanted were the sea ports as outlets for trade with surrounding hinterland for unkeep. The things are different. The French had been driven out of the country. The Karnatic was virtually governed by the Company and an Anglo-Indian empire seemed to be possibility. In order to carry out the idea the acquisition of the circars had become a necessity and so it became a matter of policy to ignore the treaty we had made with the Rajah. We assumed the place of his suzerain and even took under our control management of the district which he ruled. 'This duplicity originated and culminated during the regime of Sri Viziamara' is known from the fact that Sitaramaraju was reinstated as Dewan by the British much against the opposition of Viziamaraju and his nobility. Sitaramaraju was given the right of farming the revenue of some portions of Vizagapatam. His sons's adoption by the Rajah was supported by the British who made it that 'all leases should in future be transacted in the name of the adopted prince. The position of the Raja thus became most humiliating'.²² But Sitaramaraju was not grateful to the Company even when a mutiny of Sepoys broke out at Vizagapatam in 1781. He encouraged the mutineers while the rajah took steps to suppress it. In 1784 Sitaramaraju was removed and in 1793 he was asked to settle in Madras with liberal pension of Rs 5,000/- per month. All this amounted to gross interference in the Vizianagaram affairs which aggravated the situation there.

As in Karnatik and Hyderabad the British utilised the situation in Vizianagaram also where it culminated as a succession dispute. They were trying to instal their own man on the Vizianagaram Gaddi and exercise their complete influence. The Court of Directors took strong exception towards the interference of the Madras Presidency in the case of appointment of Sitaramaraju in their letter dated 10th January 1781 itself. They say 'our surprise and concern were great on observing the very injurious treatment which the ancient rajah of Vizianagaram received at the Presidency... .. In spite of his representations and entreaties, you, in the most arbitrary and unwarranted manner appointed his ambitious and intriguing brother Sitaramaraju as Dewan. For 'however necessary it might be to adopt measure for payment of Company's tribute to resistance of the Company's could warrant such treatment of the Rajah'.²³

This treatment accorded by the Government to the rajah was also censured by the House of Commons.²⁴ Governor Rumbold was dismissed for receiving bribes from Sitaramaraju. That the Governor and the majority of the Council of Fort St. George did by

menace and harsh treatment compelled Vizianamaraju to employ Sitaramaraju as Diwan .. and the gross illtreatment which he received at the hands of the Presidency was humiliating and unjust and cruel in themselves and highly derogatory to the interests of the East India company and the honour of the British Nation Vizianamaraju was constantly troubled by the financial crisis This was because of the military activities of Sitaramaraju to extend the power of Vizianagaram. He was also frequently engaged in primitive expeditions against various chiefs particularly hill zamindars who were recalcitrant and evading tribute to Vizianagaram The administrative mismanagement and financial irregularities of Sitaramaraju drove the affairs of Vizianagaram into an incurable state of chaos and confusion. The Company demanded arrears of Peshkush amounting to eight and half lakhs of rupees. 'In the year 1775 instructions were sent to the governor of Madras by the directors of the East India Company that a committee of circuit should be appointed for the purpose of investigating into the political and financial condition of the Northern Circars in the possession of which the English were confirmed by the emperor of Delhi in 1765' The British expected a large revenue from the circars but were disappointed and appointed a committee of circuit consisting of five members of council to investigate the matters.

This attitude of the British towards Vizianagaram was not only a duplicity but also arbitrary. Gribble remarks, 'Two things are noticeable in this treaty (Anglo-Nizam treaty of 1766). No mention is made of the Rajah of Vizianagaram. The amount of tribute to be paid (by Vizianagaram) is also very high and would seem to be much more considerable than the Nizam had previously obtained from the Rajah under the terms of the treaty of 1759 and it would therefore have the appearance that we are attempting to out do an old ally in order to obtain the possession of the districts the holding of which we had guaranteed to him in the treaty of 1758- That the British ignored their allies, Mughal Emperor and Vizianagaram ruler. This amounted to duplicity and opportunism. The increase of Peshkush which the British did virtually on their own behalf was arbitrary inconsiderate and domineering. The revenue requirements of the British were increasing on the one hand year by year and Vizia-

nagaram was unable to meet them because of its financial burdens which were leading to virtual bankruptcy

The British reported to the punitive policy like sequestration and ordering of Vizianamaraju to settle at Machilipatam on lesser pension than that of Sitaramaraju. As this was highly humiliating Vizianamaraju preferred to defy the British and court death than dishonour according to the heroic tradition. Along with all his Andhra kshatriya feudatories proceeded to prepare for resistance. They were intercepted by the British at Padmanabham and in a very short battle there Vizianagaram ended as a political factor facilitating the fulfilment of British policy of direct and effective expansion

NOTES

- 1 Minutes of Consultation dated 20th January, 1751
- 2 *Vizianagaram Raj*
- 3 *Vizianagaram Raj*
- 4 *Ibid*
- 5 *Vizayanagaram Raj*
6. *Encyclopaedia of Madras Presidency and Adjacent States*, edited by V L Sastry (Vizianagara Samasthanam)
8. *Ibid*, Letter of 8th March, 1758,
- 9 *Military Transactions of the 'British Nation in Indostan'* by Orme
- 9 a *Deccan Battles of India* by Malleson
- 10 Book Gazetter
- 11 *Ibid*
- 12 Orme
- 13 *Ibid*
- 14 *Ibid.*
15. *Vishnubhakti Sudhakaram, Vizianagaram Raj, Vijayarama Garapathu*, By Kavikondala Venkata Satyanarayana Murthy, *Padmanabha Yuddhamu* by Chatrati Lakshmi Narasimha Kavi *Bhandanarati Bhima Sataka* and *Vijayarama Charitra*
16. Orme.
- 17 Exhibit XXXVI, Appeal No. 144, pp. 10) Defendant's, *Mackenzie Mss.*
- 18 *Vijayanagara Samasthanam.*
- 19 *Vizianagaram Samasthanam.*
- 20 *Exhibit XXXVI.*
- 21 *History of Deccan*
- 22 *Vizianagara Samasthanam*
- 23 Let of 10th January 1781.
24. Resolution of 19 April 1782

THE IMPACT OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT'S IRRIGATION POLICIES OVER THE GROWING NATIONALISM IN ANDHRA DESA (1885—1918)

C H MUTYALAI AH NAIDU

For a long time nationalism has been considered a state of mind and an act of consciousness¹ but its interaction with the economic and social conditions is a recent phenomenon in the opinion of historians. Again there is a difference of approach and interpretation of nationalism because some observe from obverse angle while others from reverse angle. The former line of scholars like Dr Tara Chand and Dr A R Desai² argue that economic and social conditions do function as the constituent bases for the origin, growth, and spread of nationalism, while the latter string of pandits like C H Heimsath³ believe that it is nationalism that would have its direct and primary impact over economic and social conditions converting tremendous correlative forces. Thus between these two different approaches the former interpretation was 'generally accepted and became more popular of the two. Viewed from this perspective, a critical study is made in this paper on the Madras Government's arbitrary and evasive irrigation policies during the period from 1885 to 1918 over four productive projects, namely, Godavari, Krishna, Pennar and Cuddapah-Kurnool which exist in the present Andhra Desa of the former Madras Presidency.

If irrigation means construction of tanks, canals and anicuts or the supply of adequate water to agricultural lands, there was a dearth for water resources in Andhra because nature endowed it with a network of pregnant rivers and beautiful tributaries ceaselessly flowing in all seasons. But the Madras Government even thought it held a firm grip

over the Andhra since the ending of the third Carnatic war in 1763 did not take any initiative to exploit the hydrographic potentialities of Andhra or take any steps to arrest agricultural stagnation and boost cereal production. On the contrary, it was content with only treating the river waters as a big source for the levy of water-taxes and collection of land revenues as and when it required.

However, as time passed the Government began constructing the projects on a large scale and the first of the kind was over the Godavari river that originates in the Western Ghats, flows across the Deccan plateau, and finally merges into the Bay of Bengal. Perhaps the idea of collecting water-cess and land revenue weighed with the Government more than feeding the feeble masses who had been suffering from hunger and malnutrition. The credit for initiating this first productive venture went to Henry Montgomery in 1844 who was appointed as Special Commissioner for this project near Rajahmundry, an historical city ruled by Eastern Chalukyas. But paradoxically, hardly had the work begun with survey and examination of the area, when the Special Commissioner was suddenly called back to England on some urgent matter. The Government records do not reveal clearly whether he was summoned on personal or official grounds, but his home-call resulted in hampering the spadework of the project to a large extent. Any way, after some time, his assistant, Arthur Cotton, took up the place left void by Montgomery and under his shrewd guidance the project began to take shape slowly with an anicut and a big delta in the eastern, western, and central sectors. As soon as the project received its final touches, even though it consumed a long span of 48 years, the concerned area, which hitherto had been dry and sterile and whose river had been flowing aimlessly and fruitlessly, was turned into a romantic panorama green with vegetation and blue with serpentine canals and further with smiling peasants working in fields. Arthur Cotton in no time was hailed as the father of the project and was conferred the title Sir.

But critics wonder whether the project did actually materialise the pretty expectations of the masses at least those of the Visakhapatnam district (including the present Srikakulam district) who thought that the project would keep the famine at bay and enable them to boom the production by leaps and bounds. But unfortunately though it irrigated on average about 8 lakhs acres by 1900, it did not shield the people in times of heavy floods or scarcity of rains. For example, in 1896 when a terrible famine visited the east-coast, not merely the people of the Visakhapatnam district tasted the horrors of famine but the people of the Godavari district had endured its rigours.⁴

While on the one side the project could not be a complete famine-preventing measure, its constructive technical weaknesses also proved to be sources of danger and severe damage to crops. While it cannot be doubted that the project received excellent supervision under efficient Arthur Cotton, the lethargy and indifference on the part of some Western educated officials proved to be causes of serious breaches that took place often on either side of the banks. To quote a few examples the river banks in the Nagaram islands and the Vyensateyam embankment at Kesana Kurru⁷ in the year 1885-86 and headlock at Dowleswaram in 1896, all these were the offshoots of the technical defects which could be averted and prevented. Besides, a large sluice, built at the mouth of Torrigeda at a cost of Rs 34,910 in 1885 was washed away by floods⁸. On such occasions the peasants wondered whether they should be proud of this temple of worship⁹ or regard the project as a mirage in time of crises.

Nevertheless, the Government's self interests were fulfilled, as, in spite of the intermittent calamities, the project paid on average a maximum revenue of 2 to 3 million rupees a year, perhaps the highest that any project paid next to the Cauvery project in South India.

Having gained experience from the 34 year old Godavari project, the government could now assess the pros and cons of projects and keeping in view the value of returns, it began constructing another on a river that is born in the Western Ghats, treks across the peninsula, and vanishes ultimately into the Bay of Bengal. But it is queer to find that though the twin rivers, Godavari and Krishna had the same potentialities and though the work was begun with an anicut, headwork, eastern and western delta and that too near another historical city, Vijayawada, Krishna's work was completed in a shorter span of time about 16 years, almost one third of the time the Godavari project consumed. Further, equally baffling is that this Krishna project in contributing its dividends stood no less than the Godavari project, as its share of revenue was as much as 2 to 3 millions per year by 1900⁷.

So many natives wondered how the Krishna project, despite being as much tremendously resourceful as the Godavari, could not fall into the eyes of officials for a long time, and further though put into operations, it could not irrigate a larger quantum of acres than it could or was expected. Perhaps due to rugged pessimism or trifling contentment on the part of officials a large area was left void and unirrigated which to an unbiased spectator looked like a vast mass of 'barren' lands useful neither to the cultivators nor profitable to the Government. But the Government

report admitted that if such lands were also irrigated, the crops therein would have been worth a crore of rupees and the net increase in Government's revenue would have been at least 20 lakhs of rupees per year

Why the British officials were so pessimistic and did not cherish ambitious designs to feed more hungry stomachs and collect larger share of revenue? The reason, as Government reports point out, is that the British officials were of the opinion that the lesser the area, the greater would be the water available for irrigation, and the greater the irrigation the greater will be the revenue. As the Government reports unfold such motives of the Government, the public leaders and semi-literate peasants felt puzzled to see how the engineers, who were sophisticatedly trained on the lines of the western education could arrive at such conclusion, underestimating the innate capacity of the river. Atleast, even if it is doubted whether the engineers did have sufficient hydrographic data to evaluate the merits and demerits of the delta, one fails to reconcile because an officer had already been placed on duty to collect such necessary information and report from time to time as to what steps should be taken to regulate the discharge of Krishna water so that the necessary quantity of water required during irrigation season, might be available

Further, as in the case of the Godavari project, the Krishna project too suffered many breaches during the construction period. In the year 1887-88 when there were no rains and a hot summer prevailed, the river banks cracked at several places through which water gushed causing as many wide breaches as possible.⁹ If the Government officials had been agile and taken immediate preventive steps, many of the breaches would not have taken place and many lands glittering with green revolution would not have been swept away, as for example at Commamur Canal.¹⁰

As time passed the Government constructed another project called Penner project on a river that is born, unlike Krishna, not in the Western Ghats but in the middle of the plateau at Nandidrew in Mysore flowing across Bellary, Cuddapah and Nellore Districts, before finally disappearing into the Bay of Bengal. With vast experience of river projects and being fully aware of the benefits from river waters, the Madras Government raised a delta and an anicut near Nellore, another historical city, ruled once by the renowned Reddy kings. The Government's aims and objects were nearly fulfilled, when this project soon after completion began to procure to the Government comparatively a fairly large revenue of 6 lakhs of rupees per year from the 1.5 lakhs acres that irrigated by 1900. But the conditions of the peasants and labourers also correspond-

dingly became agonising and miserable whenever a leak took place in the bund or a big breach took place in the banks as for example the Bundavam tank in 1890¹¹ On such occasions the agony of the peasants knew no bounds, because many of them due to lack of work, left their villages to cities in search of employment and livelihood

The fourth important project constructed by the Government during the period under study was not in the east-coast but in the middle of the plateau, below the Krishna river and between the two cities Kurnool and Cuddapah Since this was a very backward region and susceptible to paucity of rains, the masses pinned hopes on the project as it began to take shape However, it did not belie their expectations, if not fully because in size and returns it stood nearer to the Penner project irrigating about 60 000 acres and procuring to the Government a revenue of 1 75 lakhs by the turn of this century

But unfortunately the project also did not escape rough treatment at the hands of Government officials who looked down upon it and thought that it should be shifted from productive irrigation list to preventive list The main reason for such massive impact over the officials was in the year 1890, when a severe flood caused serious breaches at places like Rajoli and Adimmayapalli which took a toll of repair charges about Rs 6,692¹² Though the amount was not fat, the self-centered officials were piqued and felt that the project was causing superfluous drain on their economy and that it did not enable them to make both ends meet as its expenditure of Rs 1 47,278 was greater than the collection of the revenue about Rs 77,727¹³ To make the matters worse the Imperial Government also stopped giving funds in that year to the Provincial Government which in turn did not take any concrete steps to convince the Imperial Government or to ameliorate the conditions of 'save-our-soul' peasants

Thus a critical study of the Madras Government's policies over four major productive projects reveals that the Government was highly self-centered and evasive in its relations with the mass of men who led the lives of quite desperation Nevertheless, one finds obviously some correlative relations between the practical working of the projects and spontaneous reaction of the masses However much knowledgeable and discretion minded British officials might be, the projects during the period of construction suffered severe breaches and ruined several crops bringing untold misery to the peasants For that reason the depth of water resources need not be doubted inasmuch as 90 per cent of the rivers flowed wastefully and purposefully into the sea Hence instead of utilising the surplus water that nature provided, the Government on the contrary tilted its scales favouring railways rather than irrigation, be-

cause these two were treated as alternatives. The Government was sufficiently quite aware that the railways, having crept into different corners as a network would afford not only to tighten its imperial stranglehold regarding defence and security measures but serve as a means to drain raw products from the interiors of the country to England and other countries and inversely again to import finished products into the remote corners of rural parts of the country putting rural labour to suffering from acute unemployment and existence struggle. The Government exploited this the use of railways so intensively that it was unmindful of the fact that they incurred a loss of 60 crores of rupees per annum¹³ while its expenditure was 14 times greater than that of irrigation.

Going through all these bureaucratic state of affairs the Congress leaders from Andhra like Ganjam Venkataiahnam, Ramanujulu Naidu, A. S. Krishna Rao did not remain nonplussed but decided to come to the forefront and make atleast verbal attack by criticising the Government in the Congress sessions provoking nationalist consciousness from the members spontaneously. Their speeches had such instantaneous and universal effect that they did not remain localised in the Congress sessions but spread to the semi-educated ryots through vernacular telugu papers like K. Nageswara Rao's Andhra Patrika, K. Veerasingam's Viveka Vardini, M. S. Narayana Rao's Andhra Vani, Ch. Lalshani Narasimham's Desamata, and A. S. Krishna Rao's Krishna Patrika disillusioning the masses of the self conscious and narrow convictions of the Government. So whenever a breach occurred in the bank of a canal or a temporary structure was washed away by floods, the peasants orally lost no time toeing the line drawn by the Congress leaders in attacking the Government or representing their grievances by paper to the officials, notwithstanding the fact that their vociferous verbosity or written petitions did not exert any influence over the phlegmatic Government.

A single example will suffice to explain how the peasants became desperate and resorted to agitation. In the Krishna delta of the Guntur district, once a tussle broke out between the peasants and Government officials. For a long time wet lands there were irrigated by palmyra sluices but in 1915 they were replaced by earthenware tubes. The Government hitherto fixed water duty over 60 acres per one cubic foot of water, but now it increased to first 70, next 100 acres, thus gradually retaining the depth of water but increasingly water-duty. From this it can be observed that as the depth was not increased water in those acres would be less and water-duty high. So the ryots resorted to passive methods in the beging like petitioning to the executive engineers of that district for a greater release of water. But as the officials paid

scant attention some of the peasants took the law into their hands, caused heavy breaches in the bunds put double sluices and irrigated their lands ¹⁶ Then the Government in no time took oppressive measures treating them as criminals and sentencing them to go on rigorous imprisonment At length some wondered whether the projects were intended to ameliorate the conditions of peasants or to convert them indirectly to social criminals A S Krishnarao raised this matter in the then Provincial Congress session and criticised the government bitinglly while his words were punctuated often by cheers and applause It indicates that there developed gradually a kind of implicit and explicit understanding and resoluteness between public leaders and masses and this eventually made the national movement to rise from the level of middle class and get shadows of the Gandhian multiclass and mass movement

NOTES

- 1 Hans Kohn, *Ideas of Nationalism*, p 3.
- 2 Refer Dr Tara Chand's *History of Freedom Movement in India* Vol II
Dr A. R. Desai's *Social Background of Nationalism*
- 3 Refer C H Heimsath's *Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform*.
4. *Report of the Famine in the Madras Presidency 1896-97*
- 5 *Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency 1885-86* p 127.
6. *Ibid*
- 7 G T. Boag *Madras Presidency (1881-1931)* p 37
- 8 From the *Administrative Report of the Irrigation Branch of Public Works Dept.* of 1891-2 Quoted in the *Madras Mail* Sept. 25, 1890.
- 9 *Report of the Administration of Madras Presidency 1887-88* p 103
- 10 *Ibid*, (1889-90), p. 112
11. *The Madras Mail*, Feb 26, 1890
- 12 *Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency (1889-90)* p 14.
13. *The Madras Mail* Feb 26 1890
- 14 *Report of the Indian National Congress 1897* p 100
15. Refer *Reports of the Indian National Congress 1895*, p 1, 31 and 1897 p 100
- 16 *The New India*, April 5 1915 p 5

DIAMOND INDUSTRY OF ANDHRA IN THE BYGONE DAYS

Dr J MANGAMMA

Diamond is the king of stones and is of extraordinary brilliance. Considered a status symbol, diamonds are used in jewellery. In the *Puranas* we have the stories of Kaustubhamani and Samanthakamani. The big cobra is Manidhara because it is supposed to search for its food on dark nights in the light of a diamond. This story is not baseless as we shall see a little later. A hard-hearted person is *Vajrahrudaya* and a strong weapon is *Vajaryudham*. Gems in general are believed to give strength to the wearer and protect the person from malific planets. There are real industrial uses for these bits composed of pure carbon. Diamond is used in metal-working its powder is useful for drills and grinding or polishing operations. They seem to use it in some Ayurvedic medicines too.

How the diamonds occur

Diamonds occur in original rock matrix in the form of a tunnel surfaced to earth by ejection, they get washed away by streams and rivers. According to Captain Newbold and many other writers diamonds occur on the greent plains bordering the larger rivers that have an easterly and southerly course to the Bay of Bengal. Mines are worked in areas with a particular sand and pebble conglomerate, which is powdered, sifted and washed to get the gems.

In the whole world, India has pride of place for natural diamonds. Since the middle of the 18th century, South America came into picture, while the mines of Africa are exploited for over a hundred years now. The U. S. S. R. joined the race in the fifties of this century. Experiments are now on for over a hundred years to

manufacture diamonds in laboratories and industrial diamonds are produced in one or two places in America and Africa

While Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh contribute the major portion of diamonds in our country, Orissa and Gujarat have this industry to a certain extent. Panna in Madhya Pradesh is famous for its diamonds while the Kollur mines of Andhra Pradesh have the fame for Kohinur, the world renowned diamond.

The aim in this paper is not to gloat over the past glories but to bring to light some hidden facts of history. The industry may perhaps become more alert to the places where diamonds were found so that new workings could possibly be in the neighbourhood of the old ones. Trials could be made with greater confidence when equipped with modern scientific knowledge, instead of depending on crude methods or chance discoveries. Recently, new programmes have been undertaken to search for minerals and 'Hard Rock Operations' in the Cuddapah depression form part of them. 'Diamond Core' drilling is done in Krishna gravel areas in Kanchikacharla and in Anantapur district in Vajrakarur area. This paper touches only the fringe of the problem and available figures and statistics though scanty are not discussed in detail.

Kurnool Cuddapah and Anantapur areas

A like group of rocks in this area is said to yield diamonds and a group of sandstone is characterised by the presence of diamond bearing beds. The Geological Survey of India mentions that at Banganapully one can see whence the diamonds are obtained and partly make out whence they must have been obtained in the other new deserted workings. There are many other localities apparently with identical rocks, where diamonds might be found. According to one author 'A low ridge of similar brown pebbly quartzite was due west along the north side of the Toongabudra immediately opposite to Kurnool where it abuts on the river opposite Poodoor, the surface is much and strongly broken up as it had been worked for some mineral. Possibly the diamond workings below Kurnool...may have been at this very spot.'

Let us first examine the accounts about the mines district by district. Kurnool district, the Ramalkota mines seem to have been originally worked by Gujaratis. The first of the mines visited by the French traveller, J. B. Tavernier in 1676 was 'Rouleonda', which the

geologists identified as Ramulkata or Ravvalakota. At this mine there were numerous diamond cutters and Tavernier observed the work from the business point of view. He says business is conducted with freedom and fidelity. Two percent of all purchases is paid to the king who receives also a royalty from the merchants for permission to mine. For the Munimadugu mines a *parwana* was taken from Delhi according to which diamonds of a bigger size were to reach the Emperor. When land revenue settlements were made early in the nineteenth century the mines could not be fully excavated as the veins ran into the patta lands. The excavators henceforward purchased lands from pattadars and gave them to the labourers who worked on their own paying one anna a day, for permission to work on that piece of land. In these trials a few diamonds were obtained between Devanur and Chennapalli, though the quantity obtained or the value of these diamonds is not recorded systematically. The jealousies and the bickerings of the land-owners ended in deserted mines and unworked areas. When the area came under the regular authority of the British, the lands could be leased on nominal annual rent.

In the early administrations, the merchant bought diamonds openly, but a man was specially employed by the king to weigh diamonds. The buyer and the seller accepted the weight of the diamonds as mentioned by him, since he had no interest in either party. There were a number of places in the district with diamond producing gravel. Such were Bayyanapally and Nandikutkur.

The Cuddapah area is surrounded by hills and has an alluvial soil with sandstone, as in most other parts of Ceded districts. In the Cuddapah district, diamond mines were worked at Kanuparty and Vobulapally near Chennur on the opposite bank of Pennair. West of Chennur, there were La Madur (perhaps Madur with the French article *le*) and Pinchetgapadu besides Jammalmadugu, Culapore and Dupad. In this area in the beginning of 19th century, there were 30 mines the expense for working which was calculated to be Rs 24,030. The Vobulapally mines were discovered about the middle of the 18th century. When the land settlement was done in Cuddapah, diamonds of more than one pagoda in weight became the property of the Government besides a payment of $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the value of the smaller ones. For each mine a monthly rent of one pagoda and two fanams, in all round about four rupees was paid, where as each labourer got one twelfth of a pagoda each month (too meagre as it works out to hardly two paise a day). All the mines were not worked at the same time and never more than ten at a time.

On each mine one overseer, four women and four boys were employed,

In the Anantapur district, Vajrakarur ten miles south of Guntakal was famous for its diamond mines and Tippu Sultan seems to have worked them. Unlike in other places, diamonds here are said to be found on the surface and people look for them after heavy showers. The noteworthy diamond fields in the area were Gada Hattoor (Gade Haddur meaning border village), Vajrala-tippa, Konganapalli, Tellagutta, Tuggali, all in the environs of Vajrakarur and Jonnagiri areas. Though the pipe rock east of Vajrakarur showed signs of ancient mining it was not fully exhausted and the buried volcanic bodies are to be located and delineated in the area. There is a story though humorous, which gives an idea of how expensive it was to search for diamonds in that area. About the beginning of the 17th century, a Portuguese gentleman went to 'Currure' and spent an amount of about 1,00,000 pagodas searching for diamonds. The story goes that when he was on the verge of taking poison, being thoroughly disappointed, a big diamond of 433.7 carats was brought to him by the workmen. Diamonds of 1 362.6 carats also were found there. This Portuguese gentleman took the diamond to Goa and there put up a stone tablet with the following lines in Telugu —

Your wife and children you sell, sell what you have,
Spare not your clothes nay, make yourself a slave,
But money you get, then the CURRURE Make haste,
There search the mines, a prize you will find at last "

Perhaps this stone tablet is yet to be located in Goa though a paper presented to the Royal Society speaks of it. Under European supervision, companies like P. Orr & Sons of Madras did a lot of prospecting. In 1884 a syndicate brought a diamond miner from Kimberly to help in prospecting diamonds in the area. In the same decade the 'Madras Presidency Diamond Fields Co Ltd' was floated. An area of 250 acres was bought along with mining rights in more than 400 acres. Excavating shallow pits and washing the diggings continued for about a decade after which they switched over to the shafts. As the expenditure mounted with no promising results, the land was sold to the 'Indian Exploration Company Ltd.' Their efforts also proved futile and the mystery of the pickings around Vajrakarur remains unsolved.

Palnad and Kistna District

Along the eastern edge of the Timmarayacota range, traces of diamond workings were found around Mallawaram on the right bank of the river Krishna. Such traces were also found in the Sarangapally hill. The area near Tumarakota in Palnad is supposed to be one of the strata worked for diamonds in the extreme west of Sattenapalle Taluk.

Kistna district was a part of Golconda Kingdom till towards the end of 17th century. The most famous finds of Kistna are described by the travellers and historians as diamonds from Golconda. A popular song in Telugu about Bharatmata runs thus :

(Golconda is your mine of gems and Kohinor, the flower on your head)

A comparison of the views of travellers like Marco Polo, Nicolo Conti, William Methold, Le Thevenot and Tavernier reveals that Kollur had the most famous diamond mines in the Golconda kingdom.

In the course of his travels to Mangolia and back, Marco Polo, the venetian traveller reached Motupparli in Kistna district in 1290. In his book on the 'Kingdoms and Marvels of the East', Marco Polo calls it 'MUTFILI' and mentions about the diamonds. 'No other country but this Kingdom of Mufili produces them (diamonds), but there they are found both abundantly and of large size. Those that are brought to our part of the world are only refuse at were, of the finer and large stones. For the flower of the diamonds and other large gems, as well as the largest pearls, are all carried to the great Kaan and other kings and princes of those regions, in truth they possess all the great treasures of the world.' Marco was the first to inform the west about the riches of the east in the form of a book. His book gave a clear idea of central Asia and the Far East. The light he threw on the geography of the east helped those who set out from Europe in quest of adventure and wealth.

Nicolo Conti also was a Venetian merchant who visited Vijayanagar and his narrative throws light on the human geography of Southern Asia in the 15th century. Nicolo Conti says that 'at fifty days' journey north of Bizengulia, there is a mountain which produces diamonds, the mountain being infested with serpents is inaccessible, but is commanded by another mountain somewhat

higher ' This description coincides with that given by Sindbad the Seaman of Arabian Nights In his second Voyage the gaint bird Rukh carries him to the top of a hill infested with serpents I took courage and walking along the wady found that its soil was of diamond the stone wherewith they pierce minerals and precious stones and porcelain and the Onys for that it is a dense stone and a dure, where on neither iron nor hardhead hath effect neither can we cut off aught therefrom nor break it save by means of leadstone ' This shows that the Arab world was aware of the diamonds from Golconda

Nicolo Conti describes also the process of collecting the gems The men drive oxen up the hills, cut them to pieces and throw the flesh on the smaller mountain from where the birds pick up the pieces and fly to safer places where the men come later and collect the diamonds '

William Methold a factor of the East India Company reached Musulipatnam in May 1618 He describes the long journey of 108 miles he made to reach the diamond fields at Kollur in 1622 The mine as he saw was situated at the foot of a great mountayne, not far from a river called Christena ' A temporary town of 1 00,000 (one lakh) persons had come up two miles from the mine The person who farmed the mine paid 3,00 000 pagodas per annum to the king who also demanded all stones above ten carats. To assure himself of the big stone, the king posted his governor there, announcing extreme penalties against those hiding the gems. The truth of these statements can perhaps be verified from some Persian records Every one of the travellers who visited the mines was impressed by the number of men that worked there Methold says that the daily workers were not less than 30 000 'there worke not dally fewer than 30 000 soules some digging some filling baskets, some laying out water with buckets others carrying the earth into a certaine square leuell place wherepon they spread it foure or five inches in thickness, which beeing dried by that dayes sunne, some of them the next day with great stones in their hands brulse the clode of earth and gathering from thence the peble stones throw them by and sifting the rest, they find the diamonds amongst the dust The earth is redish with veins of white or Yellowish chalke, intermixt with peble-stones which being deepe digged comes up in small clode

The Kollur mine seems to have stoped workind that very year, Methold says in anno 1622 the myne was shut up and persons restrained from frequenting the place, the reasons some imagined

to be their care to keep the commodities in request, not to dig more until those already found were dispersed others affirmed the coming of the Mogul's Embassadour to this King's court with his peremptory demand of a Vyse of the fairest diamonds, caused this cessation ' The Mogul records of the period are to be verified to see if any emissary was sent to Kollur to get one viss because the construction of Taj started after the death of Mumtaz in 1631, where as the Kollur mine was closed in 1622 But on the east bank of Jumuna is the tomb of Itimade-ud-Daula father of Nurjahan built in the twenties of the century. It is said to represent the first triumph in Mogul India of marble inlaid work May be it was during Jahan-gir's time that the order was placed for a viss of diamonds

Tavernier also records that 60,000 persons were at work when he visited Kollur He travelled from Golconda to Masulipatnam via 'the diamond mine called COULOUR in Persian and Gani in the Indian Language ' Being a diamond merchant Tavernier understood a gani only as a diamond mine. He visited Colour or Gani, Soumelpour and a deserted mine near 'Damalapad' and 'Malawaram ' As per Tavernier the first mine worked in Golconda was at Kollur, the others being at Kodavatikallu, Malawaram, Barthenypadu near Parital and Gudam in the area

Every British Officer who had a chance to visit the eastern coast perhaps visited the mines There are many accounts of the mines of Kollur and Gollapalle The amount of labour required to excavate, sieve and wash the sand to find the diamonds was enormous The miners leased the land and dug mines superficially as perhaps the diamonds were not to be found deep in the earth In the Muleli or Malavalle workings and Gollapalle mines diamonds were got from sandstones. Blanford says "The low rises south of Gollapalle are covered with the remains of old diggings, said to have been diamond mines, I could not learn how long a time had elapsed since the works had been abandoned . and the pits have all fallen in the whole country being covered over with thick bush jungle The diggings appear not to have been in the sandstone itself but in the very gravelly laterite which rests upon the sandstone, but the surface is so much broken and altered by the pits that it is difficult to say The workings evidently cover a very considerable area, and are part of the old diamond mines of Golconda... and adjoining country "

Streyneham Master, agent of the Coast and Bay who visited the spot in 1679 has described the mining areas of Krishna district as

follows some mines were sprung upon ground where corne had been sowen and reaped a few months since The towns of Mell-willee and Raizpent upon the mines are very large and populous but the buildings all thatch Hovells the people are well favoured, well clothed, and look as tho they fed well to undergo their great and hott labour tho the Corne & c , be at excessive rates, and the place must needs be full of money to pay 30 or 40,000 labourers In the mines bes'des many others the dymonds being also always bought with ready money

The condition of the labourers was the same here as at Ramal-kota in the Vijayanagar area. They earned only 3 pagodas per annum and labour being cheap, a daily wager could be obtained at 3 pies to one anna a day Only when a big stone was found there was a compensation The man got a sarpo (burban) of the value of 2 shillings and generally with it half a pagoda in silver or otherwise a pagoda when rice and a plate of sugar were not given

As late as 1850 in the locality of Parital, only two mines were at work and were let out 8 annas each per month Generally the presence of loose alluvial soil is associated with diamonds and some mention is made of each soils up to Samarlakota. Bhadrachalam is also mentioned as a place for diamonds but thorough and scientific search is to be made in the areas

The details and controversies surrounding Babur's diamond or Kohinur or Pitt's diamond or Regent are not discussed in this paper because many scholars have time and again written articles on this interesting subject Stories are familiar about the Kohinur's changing hands and about the travellers who had seen that big uncut diamond The most popular story is that it was given as a present to Shah Jahan by Mir Jumla, who had farmed the area. When uncut it weighed $787\frac{1}{2}$ carats It changed hands, reached Persia, Punjab, Delhi and London at last To cut the stone to place it in the British crown jewels took 38 days and this cost 8,000 pounds while it lost weight by $106\frac{1}{16}$ carats If the Kohinur was from Kollur, the Pitt or Regent was fromt Paritala It was purchased by the Governor, Pitt, taken to Europe and sold to the Regent Orleans At last it found a place among tha French Crown jewels

The source material is all from the National Archives, New Delhi, Travel accounts as The Book of Ser Marco Polo, indle in the Fifteenth Century being Nicolo Conti's travels, Goaconda in the

Early Seventeenth Century by William Methold , A Geographical Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal 1669 to 1679 by Thomas Bowrey , Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier 1676 , Voyages des Indes of M de Thevenot 1684 and others Official accounts as Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency 3 Vols (1885-1893) Madras District Gazetteers of Anantapur, Kistna Kurnool and Cuddapah . Records of the Geological Survey of India in the 19th century

Journals as

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

Asiatic Quarterly Review Calcutta Review , Asiatic Journal and others

Modern references as

Brittania Indica and the latest ministerial reports

TELUGU REFERENCES TO MARATHA INCURSIONS IN ANDHRADESA

Dr C. V. RAMACHANDRA RAO

We have not a few literary and inscriptional references in the Telugu language, which speak of the presence and the activities of the Marathas in Andhradesa. These sources of information have remained untapped and unassessed for a proper evaluation of history because of their scattered nature, and because of a want of knowledge of Telugu by the scholars who have worked on Maratha history. The *Mackenzie Records* and the *Kaifiyats* (Local Records), in Telugu preserved in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, and copies of some of which are now available at Hyderabad and at Tirupati, contain numerous references to the incursions and the activities of the Marathas in Andhradesa and in the rest of the Dekkan and South India, and to the social and economic consequences of these incursions and activities. A few literary works and *catu* or improptu verses of poets, contemporaneous with the events, also refer to these activities. An effort is made in this paper to bring to the notice of scholars two *catu* or improptu verses in Telugu¹ which speak of the Maratha incursions in Andhradesa in the 18th and the 19th centuries respectively. Besides, mention is made of a few other Telugu references.

Maratha Incursions in Andhradesa in 1740

The first of these verses is from Mackenzie's *Kaifiyats* or *Local Records*^{1a}. It is by an anonymous Telugu poet, who was a witness of the events recorded by him. It is of 26 lines in *Sisa* metre, the poetry is of no high order, but the information it furnishes is of

seminal importance for a student of history. It describes the devastation and destruction wrought and the atrocities perpetrated by the Maratha troops, in the Rayalasima districts of Kurnool and Cuddapah, during their sojourn and march through those districts, during their invasion of the South under the leadership of Raghaji Bhonsle and Fateh Singh. We may briefly explain the circumstances which prompted this southern expedition of the Marathas.

By 1740, the Telugu Nayak kingdom of Madura, came under the rule of the Nawab of Arcot, the last of its Nayak ruler, queen Minaksi, having committed suicide in prison, as a result of the foul play of Hussain Dost Khan alias Chanda Sahib. Having acquired the kingdom of Madura, which then had Trichinopoly as its capital Chanda Sahib designed to acquire the neighbouring Maharashtra kingdom of Tanjore. He repaired and garrisoned the fort of Trichinopoly. Apprehensive of the designs of Chanda Sahib, Pratapa Simha, (1739-1763) the ruler of Tanjore and a great grand-son of Venkaji alias Ekoji, the founder of the Maratha dynasty of Tanjore, and the Poligars of the south, sent a message to the Maratha ruler Sahu Maharaj, at Satara, seeking military help to contain the aggressive designs of Chanda Sahib. Sahu Maharaj, saw in this invitation an opportunity to exact *Chauth* from the Muslim and the Hindu principalities of the Dekkan and the South. He sent an army of about 10 000 troops under Raghaji Bhonsle and Fateh Singh to carry out this punitive expedition against Chanda Sahib at Trichinopoly. It was in their march towards Trichinopoly, that the Maratha army passed through the districts of Kurnool and Cuddapah, in 1740. The Telugu verse under discussion describes the acts of pillage and plunder, ravage and ruin, of sword and fire that the Maratha soldiers carried out. The atrocities of these soldiers did not make any distinction between a Hindu and a Muslim.

The verse refers to Trichinopoly as 'Chirutanepalli' and says that in the cyclic year *Raudri* (1740), Fateh Singh, with all jubilation marched towards Trichinopoly, plundering on the way Jingee ('Chenji') and the region of Chandapuram ('Chandapura Sima'). During their return-march in the cyclic year *Durmati* (1741), the Maratha army ransacked Chagalamarri. It plundered Siruvella, Nandyala ('Nandela') and the land of Srisaila, and made dust of them within these two years. It subjugated the frontier forts ('gadidurgamulu') like Kurnool ('Kandanolu'), and their Pathan rulers ('Pathanilu'), fled for fear. All the big Pelems not able to withstand, surrendered to the Maratha sword, and the small Pelems were laid to ruin. Entire villages were reduced to ashes, and all the resources of the land were lost. People were subjected to great cruelties, and were depri-

eved of their wealth House-wives and maidens were molested and ill-treated God and justice disappeared, having been reduced to ashes Buring and stabbing became the order of the day People were tortured by poison being applied to the ends of their mutilated limbs. People were made captives, and caste and community were despoiled. Having thus described the atrocities perpetrated by the Maratha soldiers, the anonymous poet appeals to the goddess Mahakali of Velpunuru, the goddess who revels in the 'destruction of the enemies and capable of destroying a thousand armies, not to be a silent witness to these atrocities. The verse ends with the colophon, *Veyuphaujula Samhari, Velpunri Sri Mahakali, Satravacchedakeli*, which suggests that this verse formed part of larger work, probably a century of poems (*Sataka*), and that the poet was a resident of the village of Velpunuru the abode of the goddess

It may be mentioned that during the period under discussion, Rayalasima was being ruled by the Pathan rulers (Nawabs) with their capitals at Kurnool (Kandanolu) and Cuddapah, and a few Paliyagars all subject to the authority of the Nizam ul Mulk of Hyderabad The verse makes it clear that all these Nawabs and Paliyagars were worsted in their fight with the Marathas, and some of the Paliyams were ruined beyond recovery.

The contents of the verse raise the question whether the Maratha rulers were ever inspired with a pan Hindu nationalism. Undoubtedly, like the rest of the Hindu rulers of India they were lovers of Hindu culture and religion; they were valiant and brave. But their Hindu nationalism was confined to the boundaries of the Maharashtra State. Hindus, residing in the rest of the Hindu and Muslim states of India, were just aliens, in no way different from the Mussalmans, the spread of whose power and influence the Marathas are said to have vigorously resisted, championing the cause of Hindu religion and culture.

Inscriptions

The Maratha rapacity did not spare even Hindu gods There were two Maratha invasions of Bengal one by Bhaskar Ram, the Prime Minister of Raghoji Bhonsle in 1742, and subsequently by Raghoji Bhonsle, ending with the cession of Orissa to the Marathas in 1751. During one of these inroads, most probably during the later one, the Maratha army appears to have reached Srikurmam in the Srikakulam District, and carried away from the famous Vaishnavite temple there a (golden) image of Lakshmana, which previously was installed by Narahari Tirtha, the Dvaita Pontiff, in S. 1216. (A D 1293). A lithic record from Srikurmam, in Telugu characters, dated S. 1685 (A. D. 1763), refers to this sacrilege by the Marathas, both

In its Sanskrit and Telugu portions ? The Sanskrit portion of this record (line 12) mentions, *purvañ Maharashtra janair hrto bhut = Saumitriraryagrataevadushaiah* The Telugu portion reads, *adin Madhvu = Raghupatini Ramanujun Bhumiputrin medin modambuna ĥilpinanttan Maharastrul da Saumitrisaraconiran rudhi gavimpa* This record says that the image was again installed in S 1685 by one Bhashyam Vedantcharyulu.

II

Pindari Raids, 1816-1817

The second verse describes the Pindari or Maratha inroads in the coastal Andhra and the Rayalasima districts in March 1816 * The verse refers to the Pindaris as *Maya Marathilu* (the wily Marathas), and makes it clear that the people identified the Pindaris with none other than the Marathas, though, in fact, they were professional robbers attached to the Maratha army, and were recruited from various sections of the population, Hindu and Muslim Regarding these Pindari raids extensive details are to be found in the East India Company Records, in the large volume of correspondence between the Government of Madras and the Company Directors in London, and between the District officials of Ganjam, Guntur, Cuddapah, Nellore etc and the Madras Government, during the period January 1816 to January 1817, when the Pindaris were active in these districts In 1816, the Madras Government constituted a Commission consisting of C. R. Ross, T. A. Oakes and G. E. Russel to enquire into the damage caused to the people of Guntur, Masulipatam, Cuddapah and Nellore Districts (Extracts from the *Nellore District Guide*, Collectorate Records, Vol. 3100).

The second verse under discussion, as available, is incomplete, and consists of 82 lines in *Sisa* metre Its authorship is also anonymous, and it might have formed a part of the work to which the first verse, discussed above, belongs But it should be noted that 76 years separate the events that were narrated in each of these verses, respectively. The tale of woe that this second verse narrates presents a grimmer picture, and furnishes greater details of places raided, of the anguish and suffering of the people, and of pillage and plunder, and of the resistance offered, than the one presented by the first verse, discussed above

The poet begins his verse with a supplication to Lord Venkateswara to head his tale of woe. The Pindari cavalry started its mission of plunder in the cyclic year Yuva, (1816) in the month of *Phalguna*. More than ten thousand in number they burst on the country, making a column of dust that extended upto the sky. They swiftly crossed the

Godavari, and ruined the villages and the towns. They molested, raped and killed the women. They seized gold and silver and all the wealth of the people. On *Suddha Dvadasī* (the 12th day of the bright fortnight), Monday, they crossed the river Krishna, and entered the Brahmin quarters (*agrahara*) of the town of Amaravati, and went on with their nefarious activities. Crying aloud the name of god, some residents lost their lives and some ran away. The women escaped dishonour by jumping into the river Krishna. Having been orphaned, children wailed with none to care for them. The Zamindar of Amaravathi, Vasireddi Venkatadri was taken by surprise at the Pindari raid, but he rose to the occasion, and gave a stiff fight, and dealt heavy blows, which made the hordes withdraw from the town. The Pindaris, then moved towards Guntur plundering on the way, Balusupadu, Siripuram, Pedakurapadu, Pereceria, Pamulapadu, Patibanda, Nemalikallu, Manchinelapadu, Ponnekallu, Manchivanne, Gorantla, and Nallapadu. They silently entered into Guntur, rounded up the people, interrogated them for hidden wealth, dug the floors of the houses, and seized in plenty cash, vessels, household utensils, costly clothes, and were at large in the streets with their activity of pillage and plunder. Then they carried on their work of spoilation in the towns and villages of Yenigandla, Kaneru, Yerrapalem, Navuluru, Koppuravuru, Koduru, Meduru, Modukuru, Mangalagiri, Manchinamburu, Penumaka, Madduru, Pisapadu, Vikkurti, Kancharla, Vipparlapalle, Polavaramu, Potakamuru, Cumbum, Darsi, Kakarla, Komamolu, Macherla, Vatteru, Manchikallu. They mutilated the limbs of the people, and they tortured them by applying ash and powdered chilli to their eyes and mouths. They pounded them with pestles. People ran helter-skelter to hills and jungles to escape these cruelties. The ruling chieftains took to their heels and hid themselves in the hills. But Malaraju Gundaya, the praiseworthy one rallied the chieftains, and gave a stiff fight to the cursed Pindaris at Puttavaripalem. Not able to resist the onslaughts of Malaraju Gundaya and his men, the army of Turks and the wily Marathas (i.e. the Pindaris), retreated in haste to the west, driven by the soldiers of Gundaya. Then Gundaya made an appeal to the people to come back to their respective towns and villages; but the people would not, out of apprehension that the crafty Marathas (*maya marathilu*) would return. The people took refuge in Boggulakonda, Chimakurthikonda, Bellamkonda and Kondavikonda, i.e. (Kondavidu)..

The available text of the verse abruptly ends at this point of the narration.

The foregoing narrative throws into relief two local heroes, namely Vasireddi Venkatadri and Malaraju Gundaya, who successfully

resisted and drove away the Pindari depredators Vasireddi Venkatadri (1761-1818) was a prominent Zamindar in the Guntur District, who owned 551 villages in the Guntur and Krishna Districts, and paid to the East India Company a yearly *peshkas* of Rs 5,40,737 rupees¹ He built a fort and a palace in Amaravati during 1795-97, and made use of the marble stone of the Amaravati *stupa* to build his palace In this process some of the Amaravati sculptures were lost, though the attention of the world was drawn to the sculptural greatness of the *stupa* In the *Catupadyamanimanjari* a collection of stray verses current in Andhradesa, regarding historical persons and places, there is a reference which says that Venkatadri captured and beheaded 100 Pindaris Not much is known of Malaraju Gundaya, and it is hoped that future research would reveal more of the details of the life of this saviour of the people².

In 1855, C P Brown collected and got printed a number of anecdotes, called *Tatacharla Kathalu*¹ which were narrated to him by an elderly and scholarly employee of his called Tatacharlu, and which were actual events heard, seen or experienced by the narrator Among these stories, there is one story called, "Diggi-setti Kodklu", which refers to the Pindari raids in Nellore District

In C P Brown's Letters (Telugu), Vol IV,² preserved in manuscript, in the Madras Orient Manuscripts Library, in the first ten pages, there are six letters referring to the raids of the Pindaris Brown, in the Index he has prepared to this volume of letters On p 387, notes ; "26 November 1815, describing the incursion of Mahrattas Compare 'Asiatic Journal', November 1816 Page 533, also June 1817, page 623, 626 "

It is hoped that the few Telugu references bearing on Maratha history, presented here, will spur students of history for a greater exploration and research in this direction

NOTES

1 See Appendices of the end of the article

1 a The verse was first noticed by Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma and published in the Telugu Research Journal *Bharati* for 1951, September, with an explanatory note,

2 'South Indian Inscriptions, Vol V, Inscription No. 1203.

3. The verse was discovered by the Research Scholar Maddulapalli Gurubrahma Sarma, who passed it on to Sri Adavi Sankara Rao. Adavi Sankara Rao published it in the *Bharati* for 1926, March, pp 331-332, with a brief explanatory note
- 4 R E Frykenburg, *Guntur District, 1788-1848* (1968), p 42
5. V Prabhakara Sastri (Ed), *Catupadyamanimanjari*, (1971)
- 5 a This Malharaju Gundayya was undoubtedly an ancestor of the Zamindari family of Malharajus, who were *deshmukhs* of the Murtuzanagar Sarkar under the East India Company
- 6 *Tatacharia Kathalu* (Vavilla Ed, Madras, 1961)
7. Madras Oriental Manuscript Library, M 420 Vol

APPENDIX - I

ఒక చాటు సీస మాలిక

“ వలనొప్పు రొద్ది సంవత్సరంబున యందు
 వెలయు ఫత్తేసింగు వేడ్కతోడఁ
 జెలరేగి నడచెను చిరుతనా పల్లకిఁ
 చెంచి చందాపుర సీమ దోచె
 సరగ దుర్మతి నామ సంవత్సరంబున
 కడగ చాగలమట్టు కలయదోచె
 శిరువెళ్ల నందేల శ్రీశైల భూమెల్ల
 దోచె రెండేడ్లను ధూళిగాను
 కందనోలాదిగా గడి దుర్గములఁ పీక
 వడచి యొప్పెసగ లోబలుచొనియె
 బలు పఠాణీలును భయమంది పారిరి
 నిక్కి చూచుచు నెట్టి నిలువచేక
 ఘనమైన పాశెముల్ కత్తికి లోనాయె
 గుఱుచ పాశెములన్ని కూలిపోయె
 మూలనిక్షేపాలు మొదలె పోయె
 బ్రజలకు హింసాయె ధాగ్యహీనులాయెఁ
 నాడు పద్ముల శ్రమ మధికమాయెఁ
 గన్నెపద్ములకెల్లఁ గన్నీరు మెందాయెఁ
 బతిదైవ ధర్మంబు భస్మమాయెఁ
 గాల్పులు మెందాయె గత్తి నఱకులాయె
 ముమ్మగోళ్లను (?) విషంబు లుంచుటాయె ”

‘ చెఱులు గొనిపోయి కులముల జెఱుచునపుడు
 పూజగైకొందు తిరునాళ్ల బొందుగాను
 వేయు పేజుల సంహారి వేల్పునూరి
 శ్రీ మహాకాళి : శాశ్వతచ్చేద కేళి ”

APPENDIX - II

“శ్రీ వెంకటేశ్వర శ్రీధర గోవింద
 విన్నప మాలిందు విమల చరిత
 ఇలమీద.... యువనామ సంవత్సరంబు సంభవించె
 ఫాల్గుణమాసాన పరగ శుద్ధమునందు పిండారి
 గుర్రంబు దండిగాను
 ప్రజల వోచుటయాది ప్రకటంబుగాఁ జేసి వినిపింతు
 విమలాత్మ పిమల చరిత
 పూస గూర్చినయట్లు పొసఁగ మీ యంఘ్రిల
 సీసమాలిక యొకటి వాసిగాను
 నవరించి మమ్మేలు సామ్రాజ్య వైభవ కరుణించి
 బ్రోవవే కమలనయన
 పదివేల కెక్కువై పరతెంచుకొనిరాగ రవమాళి
 మింటికి రక్కులెగయ
 గోదావరి దాటి గొబ్బున నానందు పల్లె పట్నముల్
 పాడుచేసి
 శ్రీలనుఁ జెరబెట్టి సిగ్గును విడనాడి బాలల కొందఱ
 నేల కదిమి
 కాంచన రజితంబు కల ధనమెల్లను సంచితంబు
 కావించి రచట
 శుద్ధ ద్వాదశినాడు సోమవారంబున
 వేడుకతోఁ గృష్ణవేణి దాటి
 అమరావతీయందు నగ్రహారము జొచ్చి
 నిగ్రహపరచిరి నీతిఁ దప్పి
 “హా కృష్ణ, హా రాఘ, హా అచ్యుతా, మము గావవే
 యీ వేళఁ గరుణతోడ”
 ననుచు శోకింపుచు నవనిపై గొందఱు పరు పరు
 లాడుచుఁ బరుగు లిడుచు

మా తల్లి నీలోన చూశాంగ మనియెడి తెగువతో
 గృష్టలో చుగువలంత
 దుమికిరి యాపదల్ దూరంగ గోలిరి గొల్లన
 శిశువుల్ ఘోషించెంగ
 వానిరెడ్డస్వయ వసునీరువై నట్టి వెంకటాద్రి
 శుండు చెరుగు పడియె
 తోపువెట్టులు చాల రొలువగా చెయ్యంగ
 నమసి యావర దండు సాగిరంత
 బలుసుపాడును మంచి బలువై న సరిపురు
 పెదకూరపాడును పేరెచెల్లి
 పాముల పాడును పాటిబందాదిగా నెమలి
 కల్లును మంచినేలపాడు
 పొన్నె కల్లును మంచి వన్నెగా విశదల
 నడచిరి గోరుట్ల నల్లపాడు
 గుంటూరు కంకట గుట్టుగా నేరెంచి పట్టి
 పౌరుల గట్టిగాను
 తహసీలు చేసిరి తల్లివ్విరి యిండ్లిండ్ల కొల్లగా
 వరహాలు కొనిరి వేగ
 చెంబులు కంచాలు చెరవాలు బిందెలు
 నేబులు వస్త్రాలు నీతిదప్పి
 వీధి వీధుల నెల్ల విరివిగా వెదజల్లి నదురెంత
 యులేక నడచిరంత
 యెవిగండ్ల కంతేరు నెర్ర బాలెంబును
 నవులూరు కాకాని నందివెలుగు
 కొమ్మూరు నెనమదల కొప్పురావూరును
 కోడూరు మేడూరు మోదుకూరు
 మంగళగిరియును మరి మంచినంబూరు
 వెనుమాక మద్దూరు పీసపాడు
 విక్కుర్తి కంపర్ల విప్పర్ల వల్లెయు
 పోలవరంబును పొతకమూరు

కంభంబు దరిశయు కాకర్ల కొమవోలు
 మాచర్ల వట్టెరు మంచికల్లు
 మొదలైన పురములు మొక్కిల చెరచిరి
 సకల జనంబులు వికలముగను
 కారంబు బూడిదె కండ్లకు నోళ్లకు
 కఠిసులై కట్టిరి కనిమి వడగ
 యేమని చెప్పుదు నెదురు రామ్మలమీద
 రోకండ్లు దొక్కిరి రొదలు కొనగ
 నిట్టి థాటికి వెరచి యెటుబోవ జాలక
 చెట్టుల గుట్టల చేరి డాగి
 మన్నె దొరలందరు మలలకు నేగిరి
 మలరాజు గుండయ్య మాన్యయశుడు
 సరదార్ల నేర్పర్చి సమయం బిదేయని
 మాల పిండారుల మడయగొట్టి
 పుట్టివారి పాలెంబు పొంతను నిలిచియు
 దళముల మీదికి దండువెడలె
 మలరాజు గుండయ్య మార్బలముతోడ
 మలిపించె మరిదూకె మారులేక
 తత్తురుముగ నరిగె తురక బలంబెల్ల
 పారంగ దోలిరి పడమటికిని
 మాయ మరాటీలు మళ్ళి వత్తురటంచు
 నాసరాలున్నట్టి యడపులరుసు
 అదిమాచి గుండయ్య అందరి బిలిచిరి
 జొగ్గుల కొండకు జోయిరపుడు
 చీమకుర్తి కొండకు చేరిరి కొందరు
 పాయకట్టుగ చాల పరుగులిడిరి
 బెల్లము కొండకు ప్రజలంత యేగిరి
 కొండవీటి కొండ.... ”

LITERARY CONDITIONS IN NORTHERN CIRCARS UNDER EAST INDIA COMPANY

C RAMALAKSHMI, M A ,

Before going into the actual topic I want to make one point clear. I won't deal with the spread of academic education in Circars. I am confining myself only to the literary effort of the period, with particular emphasis on the political and economic climate and social surroundings which the poets and authors described to rouse the awareness of the readers. All forms of literature excepting novel and drama which were developed later in 1860s were made use of for this purpose. This age was important as it formed a link between Telugu literature which was produced for sheer enjoyment and aesthetic pleasure of the privileged classes and that which was used as an instrument of social reform, the latter finding its culmination in Kandukuri Veeresalingam who hailed from Rajahmundry Circar at the end of the period. He adapted almost all the western forms into Telugu literature without any traditional bias, novel, drama, satire and prose.

Prabandha Literature

There were certain Prabandhas produced in the Circars in the latter half of 18th century describing the significant political event - the clash of native zamindars with the newly entered foreign suzerains. The theme was not the stereo-typed Prabandha Sringara but valour. They give an insight into the prevalent political and military organisations, the loyalty of the natives, roles played by intrigues for individual gains, emotions, feelings of attachment, and their adherence to 'honour'. Dittakavi Narayana Kavī's *Rangaraya*.

charitra written at the instigation of his patron Malraju Ramabhupala describes the events leading to the siege of Bobbili fort in 1757 by Bussy the French General the involvement of Viziamaraju, the Vizianagaram Raja in this affair and the stubborn resistance offered by the Velma family there. From the eulogy showered on his hero's family we can construct the political history of these chiefs - building of Bobbili City, the successive Velma Chiefs and how the treacherous plot of Viziamaraju was carried out with the help of Bussy against the peace efforts of Gopala Krishna Ranga Rao of Bobbili. War that took place was vividly described and the Velma massacre of ladies and children in the name of adherence to honour terrified the Europeans. Since it was dedicated to Malraj Ramabhupala, we come across his family history also.

Chatrati Lakshminarasakavi's *Padmanabha Yuddham* was another *Prabandha* portraying the resistance of Vizianagaram chief to the English East India Company. It points out the Company's ambition to take over the estate as the primary cause of the war and the refusal to give receipt for Rs. 10 lakhs since it fell short of Rs. 2 lakhs was only a pretext for provocation.¹ The reference made to the excessive English greed and the treacherous siege of Tanjore make us understand that the poet could assess the English techniques in their dealings with the natives and he would have feared a similar occurrence in the Circars. P 16 verse 60 also points out to a large number of disloyal elements giving deliberate support to the company. This must have invariably referred to Sitaramaraju, Diwan of Vizianagaram. This book vividly describes the battle field and the collective resistance offered by the native folk. This also gives a list of military weapons used like parigha, pattisa, karavala, sara, mudgara, sula, kshurika, parasu etc.

These two books even though they follow the *Prabandha* literary style, development of the plot, description of scenes and even the exaggeration of the qualities of the heroes differ from the other *Prabandhas* in certain respects. The theme was the portrayal of valour and the characters, unlike the epic and legendary heroes of the other *prabandas* were realistic in nature since they were taken from the actual society. The authors were near contemporaries to the heroes and thus they could represent well the people's appreciation and feelings towards the fallen heroes. Although heroes were defeated in the wars, they were cherished as saviours of honour, and persons who could rise to the situations.

Pindiprolu Lakshmana Kavi's '*Lanka Vijayam*' or *Ravana Dammiyam* was a *slesha kavya* written in 1797. He belonged to

Kuyyeru in Rajahmundry Circar and wrote the book on the provocation of a part of his land³ being taken away by Dharmarayudu, the Karnam of Kuyyeru. This reveals that the society never approved acts of injustice of the local heads. Damma's high-handed policy in taking away a part of the author's land, putting aside all legitimate claims and the concerned man's personal request, was criticised publicly and even his family members advised him to give it back to Lakshmanakavi in vain. Soon after his death Lakshmana regained his land defined in the patta with the acclamation of gentlemen.⁴ The author by his better criticism (Tittu Kavittvam) could evoke public opinion against the particular injustice done and thus did not face any difficulty in regaining the land after Dammana's death. The high-handed policies of certain village officers and the strong public condemnation and the contemporary economic conditions were evident from this book.

Lank Virayam was at least free from obscene language and the development of Dammana's story was cleverly interwoven with that of Ramayana. Each poem and sentence has equal application to both the stories. We come across a more daring attack against a very influential royal person, Chintalapati Niladriraju, the brother-in-law of Vizianagram Zamindar, in Kuchimanchi Jagga Kavi's Prabandha work "*Chandrarekha Vilapam*". It was a humorous work written in the usual Prabandha style and narration, discrediting a contemporary powerful man's affair with a prostitute girl named Chandrarekha. The reason for thus discrediting him seems to be his failure to render honour to the poet as was promised. This made Jaggakavi irritated and he wrote *Chandrarekha Vilapam* in a style of 'elegant and highly polished expressions customary on such subjects with the filthiest and coarsest slang phrases that it furnishes in equal plenty'⁵. It was a satirical work written on the degenerated society in which a Brahmin had fallen to easy ways of life. The poet's lash against prostitution is clear from verses 28 to 35 in, which Chandrarekha condemns the profession in her conversation with her mother. It seems that Jaggakavi, with the help of Nizam's firman, was able to read this book in the open court of Vizianagaram⁶.

The authors used to resort to writing of such works in order to make the public alive to the acts of injustice done and thus could arouse public opinion. Widely familiar Prabandha form continued in this age while the content differed.

Most of the Prabandhas written in Northern Circars during the period under consideration were in imitation of those of the Vijaya-

nagar period both in style and content. The characters chosen were from epics and mythology, the pervading theme being Sringara or romance with vivid description and poetic exaggeration. The language in which these were written was highly ornamental and the life depicted in them was aristocratic beyond the knowledge and experience of common man. These Prabandhas did not only get appreciation from the native scholars but from foreign readers also, the chief among them being C. P. Brown. Within two decades, Brown published almost all famous works with commentaries. He provided security to the palm-leaf literature he came across and made them available to the public.

Some examples of stereo-typed Prabandhas brought out during this period in the Circars were :

1. Kotikalapudi Venkata
Krishna Somayaji : *Svetachalamahatmyam and Dilipa - Charitra*
2. Kodandaramakavi : *Prapadana Parinatam*
3. Adidam Surakavi : *Kavijana Ranjanam*
4. Poduri Venkatarajakavi : *Ramalila Vilasam*
5. Tirupatipatrakavi : *Satyabhamakrishna Samvadam*
6. Kuchimanchi Timmakavi : *Rasikajanamanobhiramam*
7. Enugu Lakshmanakavi : *Ramavilasam*
8. Sistu Krishnamurthy sastry : *Sarvakamadaparinayanam*
9. Tummalapalli Nagabhusanam : *Basavavijayam*
10. Vemaneradhyula
Sangameswarudu : *Sarasa Hrudayunuranjanam.*
11. Akkinapalli Narasimha Kavi : *Oghavatiparinayam,*
12. Chellapilla Narasakavi : *Yaminipurnatilaka Vilasam.*

~~Some of these works make mention of the patron's family.~~

Sataka Literature

The characteristic feature of this form of literature is its 'Makuta', naturally coming in the fourth line at the end of each stanza addressing a favourite god or a person or the name of the poet. The poet brings in two or three similes to the idea he wants to convey to make his meaning emphatic. Each poem has its own effect, Makuta being the burden. Most for the satakas are easily understandable because of their simple style.

Most of our Sataka literature was devotional and they deal with the eulogy of a particular form of God. Enugu Lakshmana Kavi's *Geervana Surya Satakam*, Anivella Sitaramudu's *Janakipati Satakam*, and Madina Subhadrayamma's several satakas on Krishna, Kesava, Venkatesh, Srirangeswara, Simhachaladhishwara, Srirama and Sinhagiri Satakas were purely devotional. Some Satakas deal with morals and the proper code of behaviour. Manasabodha Satskam and Chittabodha Satakam written by Tadepalli Panakalaraydu towards the end of 18th century try to impart self-discipline. Phakki Venkatanarasayya wrote *Kumari Satakam* in which the conduct of a girl was prescribed. There were certain Satakas which were the outcome of a present distress, they experienced. One of them was Adidam Surakavi's *Ramalingesa Satakam* which presents the misrule of the then Diwan of Vizianagaram, Sitaramaraju. Of course, there was no direct reference to the contemporary authority but he blames him for causing chaotic conditions. He even claims certain political rights i.e. the right to criticise a cruel monarch⁹ and the right to get relieved of him.¹⁰ In the verse 95, p. 47, he presents the sad economic state of the Zamindari. This type of satirical work might have been undertaken so as to condemn the unpopular acts of the authority and by discrediting particular people, the future rulers may avoid such lapses.

Muktevi Perumallayya, a court-poet of Challapalli Zamindar Kodanda Ramanna Desahi, wrote *Hanumantha Satakam*. It was written on the provocation of Nizam Ali's raid on Devaracotah between 1765-85 and the dispersal of Nizam's forces was attributed to God Hanuman's intervention.¹¹ The first half deals with the request for intervention while the other praises him for the task undertaken.

Gokulapati Kurmanadhakavi wrote his "*Simhadri Narasimha Satakam*" in the middle of the 18th century. Through the appeal he makes to God, it is known that Simhachalam temple was in danger of being looted by Muslims. From verse 68, p. 34, the author begins to praise God for complying with his request of driving away the Muslims. Vanguri Subbarao thinks that Asaf Jah was the raider who wished

to establish his power and this must have taken place about 1724. Dr Sundaram differs from this view. He makes clear that this was an attack of the Muslims along with the Marathas who plundered Vizianagaram. In 1753 the relations between Kurnna Kavi's patron Viziamaraju and Asaf Jah's, Chicacole Sardar were strained due to Viziamaraja's alliance with the French. 'It is quite possible that in course of this plundering raid (of the Marathas) a contingent of Muslim army raided the temple to wreak indirect vengeance on the raja under whose patronage the temple was flourishing'. The victory was attributed to God since the ruler was helpless.¹² Kuchimanchi Timmakavi's Kukkuteswara Satakam presents the contemporary conditions. We know that importance was given more to easy understandable language than what obtained in the old studies, and to the rising of lower castes to prominence.¹³

Bhadragiri Satakam, written by Bhalla Perayya Kavi, in the first half of 18th century was written at a time when the idols of Bhadragiri were removed to Polavaram due to the fear of their being destroyed by a Yavana called Dhamsa. The idols were kept there for five years. The Sataka begins with the removal of the idols and stops with their return. From verse 102, it is clear that the idols were at Polavaram for 5 years and were brought back with the help of Pusapati Viziamaraju and Sitaramaraju.

Kasula Purushottama Kavi's Andhranayaka Satakam written towards the end of 18th century, i.e., at a time when the Andhranayaka temple was in a neglected state, of not even having regular puja, due to the poor economic state caused by the floods of the Krishna river. This Satakam was responsible for the improvements effected at a later stage restoration of former glory by Purushottama Kavi's patron, Challapalli Raja (Raja Ankineedu II).

Chatrati Lakshminarasa Kavi's 'Bhandanaratibhrama Satakam' was also considered to be a satirical work on the misrule of Diwan Sitaramaraju. There were some strong remarks made on the political authority. He criticised that the political head was lower than a prostitute, dog, cheppal and barber when he failed to protect those who followed him. The Prime Minister becomes a trouble to people when he fails to render good advice to the Raja.¹⁴ He cautions him that he was liable to the curse of a good poet.

Prose

Prose, in any literature, is simpler and more direct form of expression devoid of poetic conceit and such other ornaments in language.

The prose rendering of the following books of the popular Pady Kavyas or Prabandhas indicates the effort made by authors of 19th century to make them known to a wider public.

Gona Budha Reddi's Dwipada Ramayanam was rendered into prose in 1840 by Pydipati Papaiah.

(1) Paturi Ranga Sastrulu rendered into prose Venkatakavi's Vijayavilasam in 1841. (2) Dhurjati Lakshmipatikavi rendered Hamsa Vimsati into Prose in 1842.

During this period several popular stories were written by various authors. Some of them were, Singaraju Dattatreyyulu's Ramayanam, Paturi Narasimha Sastri's Harischandrakatha, Dilarama Kathalu, Betala Pancha Vimsati Kathalu, Kambhojaraju Kathalu and Tatacharyula Kathalu. These indicate the increasing appreciation of the popular stories. Mikkili Mallikarjuna Kavi a native of Godavari district wrote Vikramarka Charitra in 1856.

The Madras Text-book Vernacular Society which was formed in 1820 published various text books ranging from Punduri Sitarama Sastri's Pedda Bala Siksha to those prescribed for higher classes like Mahapurshula Jeevithamulu, England Desa Charitra and Bhugolam.

Essay writing also started in Telugu in the first half of 19th century. The book Hitha Soochanee, comprising essays on a wide variety of topics advocating easy prose, printing of books in large numbers, female education and translation from English works was written by Swamyneena Muddunarasimma Naidoo, first-class District Munsiff, Rajahmundry.

The wide appreciation for prose encouraged various forms of expression like diary writing, publication of news-papers and interest in journalism.

Enugula Veeraswamy's Diary or Kasiyatra Charitra gives an insight into the general conditions prevailing in the places he visited. It was the only vernacular source giving information on contemporary society (1830-31). It seems that 'Kavali' Venkata Borrayya the able assistant of Col. Mackenzie, Mangalagiri Anandakavi and Vennealakanty Subarao were also in the habit of writing diaries.

Various books of grammar and dictionaries also appeared. For several years Madras was the publication place. Later on the press found its way to Guntur, Rajahmundry and Vizag. Some private people also owned printing presses. Paravastu Chinnaya Suri had his own press called Vani Darpan. Gajula Lakshminarasa Chetty (1806-68) started a journal in 1844 called Crescent to seek redressal of the grievances of people caused by administrative errors and Christian missionary activities.

Thus this age, though considered as a decadent age, was important because of the several additions made to Telugu literature and newness even among the works written in imitation of earlier Prabandhas. We find the presentation of contemporary society. Scholarly meetings were common. The poets used to move from one place to another place receiving honours from various Zamindars. It seems that the Avadhana Prakriya which was so common in the latter half of 19th century made its beginning in the first half itself. Mahamahopadhyaya Paravastu Rangacharyulu did Satavadhanam in 1855 in Bobbili and Vatyam Vasudeva Prabrahma Sastry did it in 1848 in Bandar. Madabhushi Venkatacharyulu (1835-95) was also an adept in these Avadhanams. Gurudanti Narasimhulu, a blind man from Chicacole Sarkar used to do Ashtavadhanam in 18th century. He was able to play chess and to court rice thrown on him amidst literary gathering¹⁶. It seems Mamidi Venkayya was also an expert in this and was very much appreciated by the English¹⁷. Scholarship was not limited to people of higher castes alone. Racherla Madhava Raya Kavi who wrote Chandrika Parinayam was a Padma Kulaja. Kattikaneni Ramaya Kavi who translated Kuvalayananda Prakasam was a Padmanayaka by birth. The author of Uttara Parinayam, Remela Venkataraya Kavi also belonged to the fourth class. Amalapurapu Sanyasi Kavi, a native of Chicacole Sarkar and the author of Padya Kavyas was a potter by birth. He was philosopher, poet and guru to several Brahmins and was very much respected. Chitaru Gangadharudu, a fisherman wrote Dwipada Bhallanacharitra and Dwipada Sriyala Charitra. Darla Sundaramma, a native of Guntur, circus and a Padmasali, attacked the orthodoxy of the society in her Ataveladla like Vemana. Services to Telugu language even by foreigners were given due recognition as known from "Sri Brown Prasasti" written by his contemporary Sri Bhadraru Ramanna, a native of Madras Presidency.

NOTES

1. C Lakshminarasa Kavi's - *Padmanabha Yuddham*, 1924 p 18.
2. *Rangaraya Charitra* was written in 1790 while *Padmanabha Yuddham* was written under the patronage of the defeated Raja's son.
3. It was 7 pandums as known from verse 80, p 214, which was yielding five varas' as known from verse 89, p 222 of *Lanka Vijayam*, 1915
4. "Patriotalo rudhambagu, lshetramu budha sammatāmuqa chekoni " verse 220, p 333
5. P 6, C P Brow's quotation quoted by editor 'K Gopaul Rao in the introduction to *Chandrarekha Velapam*, Madras 1920.
6. Veeresalingam *Andhra Kavula Charitra*, K p 64
8. "...Pragalu duṣṇayulaina prabhumu tappu. " Verse 43, p 21 *Ramaningesu Satakam*
9. "tana rapu jagadupadraval ani anna, Kruraimūdanuhu Vakrauchharade" p 19
10. "...Viduvavalayunu murli ha 7 rudhivatalendru. ' p 25
11. T Donappa *Andhra Samsthnamulu - Sahitya Poshana* p 156
12. Dr K Sundaram, *The Simhachalam Temple* - 1969 p 83
13. *Kukkuteswara Satakam*, 1912, pp 12 and 13
14. "...Rajugariki budhi maralpa salu siyani pradhana prajalanu chelu qude " p 295 - *Bhandanarathinam Satakam*
15. *Vizag District Manual*, p 134
16. *Bharati*, June, 1962, p 66

ASPECTS OF AWAKENING IN THE 19TH CENTURY ANDHRA

M PATTABHIRAMA REDDY,

In tracing the beginnings of the awakening in India, we have to remember the socio-economic conditions; which gave rise to an intellectual ferment in Europe. The birth of the modern age witnessed the growth of manufacturing and trading towns, the break-down of economic feudal system, the geographical discoveries and the corresponding influx of colonial wealth, the growth of vernaculars and their national literatures, humanism and the scientific spirit. None of these symptoms of modern civilisation appeared on the Indian sub-continent before the advent of the European merchant companies and the subsequent British conquest of India. There is an element of truth in the statement of John Stratchey that "of all the great imperialisms the British contained the greatest proportion of constructive elements"¹. One hundred years before John Stratchey wrote the above words, Karl Marx in his articles on India observed that Britain produced "the greatest, to speak the truth, the only social revolution ever heard of in Asia"².

Side by side with the destructive consequences of Imperialism; Marx pointedly mentioned the inevitable regenerating role of Britain. "The British were the first conquerors superior, and therefore inaccessible to Hindu, civilisation"³. Among the elements of regeneration, he mentioned political unity, the free press, the establishment of private property in land, the building up of an educated Indian middle class and the regular rapid communication with Europe through steam transport.⁴ He foresaw that the regenerating role of imperialism, which was superior to the feudal civilisation of India, would be evident from the introduction of machinery into the locomotion of the country and all those industrial processes necessary for the upkeep of railway locomotion, the forerunner of modern industry. "And before long", he concluded, "modern industry, resulting from the railway system, will

dissolve the hereditary division of labour upon which rests the Indian castes those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power" It is true that the British rulers were not destined to liberate the masses from poverty but they had to lay the material foundation of a new society, in their own enlightened self interest

The basic premises of a material society were created by dragging individuals, groups and minor states through fire and blood, but then that was inevitable to break up the old impediments to a national market. There were, no doubt, flourishing towns with thousands of weavers and craftsmen and merchants who cateted to the luxuries of the Mughal rulers, their satrape and retinues of parasites, but their prosperity was ephemeral and not based on independent productive units. They were the appendages of the military camps and the compradors merchant princes that subordinated the national interests to their own narrow self-interests. It is a hypothetical question whether these towns would have developed a bourgeoisie capable of effecting a social revolution in the immediate future, without the intervention of foreign imperialism. The Mallayas, Vijrivoras and Jagath Seths of the rising Indian bourgeois society, had in their class the germs of a economic order, but the political system that thwarted the development of reproductive forces was the major stumbling block which could be removed only by a modern ruling class like the British East India Company. Neither the compradors merchants nor their political sovereign of the Indian sub-continent not to speak of the moribund zamindars, poligars and farmers of revenue ever thought of venturing on the high seas in the foot-steps of the Europeans for exploring the possibilities of independent development. The printing press which disseminated knowledge and revolutionised thinking in Europe right from the second half of the fifteenth century, came to be used in India three centuries later, though the first books are supposed to have been printed by Jesuits in the middle of the sixteenth century in Cochin. It was the foreign ruling class which created the material premises for the awakening of Indians.

Among the British administrators, who sowed the seeds of progress and set in motion an agrarian revolution in Andhra was Sir Thomas Munro (1761-1827). Out of the nearly fifty one years he spent in India, he was in charge of the administration of the Telugu districts for fourteen years. Author of the famous Ryotwari system, which in course of time replaced the Cornwallis, Zamindari system, Munro had become a father figure to the peasants. His most revolutionary reform was what may be called the agrarian enfranchisement of the peasantry. He broke down the monopoly of the upper caste poligars and allowed any peasant who had labour power and the livestock, to

cultivate as much land as he could. Never before him, the lower castes; and the scheduled castes could come forward with a demand for lands. The rule of law, which Munro proclaimed, legally emancipated the poor peasants, to the extent of owning their own lands, without fear of the upper caste elders, but in course of the evolution of agrarian relations the peasants were destined to be pauperised, the lower caste peasants suffered degradation under the cruel domination of the upper caste headmen and their cunning accountants. In the matter of removing legal and social impediments to proprietorship of lands, Munro earned the gratitude of the millions of Telugu peasants. His catholicity persuaded him to plead for employing Indians in responsible jobs much against the prevailing opinion of the British bureaucrats. His arguments in favour of Indian personnel for managing the affairs of village community and the spread of education among the people, at the beginning of the nineteenth century could not however persuade his countrymen to trust Indians with power even in the lower rungs of the bureaucracy. Long before Andhra intellectuals acquired the courage and knowledge to propagate modern ideas of social reform, Munro helped to prepare the material premises for the social awakening of Andhras. What Charles Philip Brown and Mackenzie did for Telugu literature, and Indolgy in the first half of the nineteenth century evokes the respect and admiration of scholars and patriots today in Andhra. Their achievements together with the agrarian and administrative reforms of Munro, surely make them the fore runners of Telugu renaissance.

When Sir Thomas Munro returned to India in 1814 as Special Commissioner his views on the improvement of the conditions of the people were of great significance for the further reforms contemplated by the British government. As Principal Collector of Cuddapah for seven years he had ample opportunities of coming into contact with the common people in the villages. No other British administrator had sympathised with the lot of the peasants and studied the basic desiderata of the institutions and economic life of the ryots. It was this knowledge that stood him in good stead during the great debate in England on the administrative reforms for India in the House of Commons, where he gave evidence before the committee that produced the famous Fifth Report (1812). The committee of enquiry was so impressed by Munro's deep knowledge of the Indian polity that he was sent out as special commissioner to suggest reform of the judicial system. He proposed the revival and revitalisation of the village panchayat. He was the first advocate of employment of educated Indians in responsible positions in the district administration.

Munro wrote "The advocates of improvement do not seem to have perceived the great springs on which it depends they propose to place no confidence in the natives, to give them no authority, and to exclude them from office as much as possible, but they are ardent in their zeal for enlightening them by the general diffusion of knowledge our books alone would do little or nothing dry simple literature will never improve the character of a nation. To produce this effect it must open the road to wealth and honour, and public employment Without the prospect of such reward no attainments in science will ever raise the character of a people" He emphasised the same point in a letter to Canning Our present system of government by excluding all natives from power and trust and employment is much more efficacious in depressing than all laws and school books can do, in elevating their character

The glimmerings of public spirit engendered by the liberal attitude of Munro had not a little to do in raising hopes among a microscopic minority of Telugus Vennelakanti Subba Row (1784-1839) who was employed as interpreter in the Sadr Adalat court in Madras appears to have been the first Telugu gentleman who drew the attention of the Madras government to the deplorable state of education in the Madras presidency in a letter he wrote to the Madras School Book Society on 22 November 1820¹¹ He made several suggestions for improving the methods of English instruction in Indian Schools¹² Sir Thomas Munro, governor of Madras (1820-27) issued an order establishing a committee of public instruction Among the steps taken to improve the state of education were the establishment of a normal school for training teachers in Madras, 20 collectorate schools in the district towns and 61 Tahsildari schools in the Taluk headquarters English was taught only in the zilla schools It was only after the central government in Calcutta decided to make English the medium of instruction and official language in 1835 that there was a fillip to the promotion of English education among the people of Andhra

George Norton who was advocate general at the Madras Supreme court from 1828 was known for his liberal outlook on the problems of Indians He encouraged public spirited Indians like Enugula Veeraswamy, Verubakam Raghavacharyulu and Komala-swaram Srinivasa Pillai, to establish the Hindu Literary Society; he delivered a series of lectures on the history and public administration of the country and taught his associates the rudiments of public spirit¹³ Prominent citizens of Madras led by George Norton submitted a memorandum to the Governor Elphinstone in 1837 requesting

him to start an English college for imparting modern European knowledge of arts, humanities and sciences. The memorandum was signed by seventy thousand people of Madras and other towns. The governor endorsed their views on 12th December, 1838 recommended the starting of a university college and set up a university board for the purpose on 2nd August, 1839, with George Norton as Chairman and prominent citizens like Raghavacharlu and Sreenivasa Pillai as members. On the recommendation of the Board, the Madras University school for higher education came into existence on 14th April, 1841.¹⁴

Thanks to the public spirit generated by Subba Rao, Norton and Veeraswamy, the large endowments left behind by the well known South Indian merchant Prince Pachayappa Mudaliar, were rescued from corrupt trustees and made available for humanitarian purposes, especially for starting schools. About eight lakhs rupees were estimated to be the value of the Pachayappa's endowments. George Norton played a leading part in getting a court decree for placing this enormous fund in the hands of a legally constituted Trust Board.

The next stage in the development of public spirit in Madras is associated with the life and work of Gajula Lakshminarasu, a rich merchant. He learned English and participated in the debates organised by the literary society in Madras. He amassed enormous wealth by exporting textiles to several countries of Asia, Africa and Europe. Inspired by the speeches of Norton and the patriotic activities of his associates, he decided to contribute his mite towards the amelioration of the conditions of the people. It was with this object in view that he started the Madras Native Association in 1844. He purchased a press and a journal called 'Native Circular' which was called 'Crescent' under his management and he appointed an Englishman, Harley as its editor. The first issue of this paper appeared in October, 1844. The 'Crescent' boldly criticised the anti Hindu propaganda that was carried on by Christian missionary news papers like 'Native Herald' and 'Record'.¹⁵ On 9th April 1845, Lakshminarasu organised a conference of Hindus in Madras, to protest against the proposed amendment to the Hindu law of inheritance which would confer heritable rights on individuals who were converted to Christianity. This new regulation was contemplated by the Madras Government, to help the European missionaries, who were engaged in proselytization. Another largely attended public meeting was held in the Pachayappa's school on 7th October, 1846, under the chairmanship of Lakshminarasu, and it was resolved to send a mammoth petition

to the company, directors in England, detailing the grievances of the people, and proposing changes in the laws.

The inhabitants of Madras had petitioned to the governor Lord Moira as early as 8 October 1813 praying 'to be relieved from the payment of duties on salt' 'They remonstrated by adopting violent methods' against the oppressive tax collectors.¹⁶ The memorial of the native inhabitants of Madras¹⁷ requests the governor to prevent the missionaries from building a church in the midst of the Hindu residential locality. Another memorial¹⁸ prays for selecting a native inhabitant as a justice of the peace. Several petitions drew the attention of the government to the activities of Christian missionaries who taught Bible lessons to Hindu students.¹⁹ The Madras Native Association led by rich native merchants and English educated upper caste Hindu intelligentsia highlighted the grievances of the villagers, the ryots, artisans and craftsmen in regard to oppressive taxation as well as need for administrative reforms especially, in the judicial and police departments. They pointed out 'the judges of the supreme court exercised their power and authority in a high handed manner to the detriment of the Hindus'.²⁰ On 10th June 1853, they prefaced their petitions with the following words: 'That the grievances of your petitioners arise principally from the excessive taxation, and the vexations which a Company its collection, and the inefficiency, delay and expense of the company's courts of law, and their chief wants are the construction of roads, bridges and works for the supply of irrigation and the better provision for the education of the people. They also desire a reduction of public expenditure and a form of local government more generally conducive to the happiness of the subjects and the prosperity of the country'.²¹ The petitioners of the Madras Native Association represented the conditions of the ryots under the Ryotwari system, especially the way in which the peasants were compelled to cultivate more lands than their resources permitted them and the tortures perpetrated by revenue authorities in the course of collecting arrears of revenue.²² They pointed out that the steep fall in the price of grains, hit hard the peasants, who had to pay their tax in cash. The corrupt Tahsildar and his cruel henchmen harassed the ryots day in and day out. The Tahsildar's police powers aggravated the tyrannical methods. The Torture Commission appointed by parliament exposed the inhuman tortures the ryots were subjected to by the petty officials and the village munsiffs. The three hundred page report entitled 'Conditions and Requirements of Madras' submitted to the Board of Control in England by Norton, on February 1, 1854 is an indictment of the entire administration of the company authorities and their servants in India. It emphatically endorses in a more

systemetic manner, the criticism made by the Madras Native Association earlier

Sir Arthur Cotton the architect of the Krishna-Godawari anicuts strongly pleaded for modernizing India by the introduction of technology and science, and the widespread diffusion of knowledge among all sections of people. He drew the attention of his country men to the utter neglect of irrigation and the deteriorating economic conditions of the peasants. He held his compatriots responsible for such a distressing state of affairs²³. The Revolt of 1857 had not stirred the Zamindars, and the disarmed Poligars in Andhra. Except in Hyderabad, where there was some commotion among the Muslims, the Andhra people suffering under various social and economic disabilities were not inspired by the great revolt. In a few towns like Masulipatm, Rajahmundry, and Cuddapah, the district authorities had to report against a few strangers and stragglers, but the middle class merchants and petty Telugu officials had no linking of what had actually happend. Prominent gentlemen of most of the Andhra towns openly demonstrated their loyalty to the government by presenting addresses to the Governor, and expressing gratitude for the blessings of peace and order created by the British rulers.

Not a decade passed without the ravages of famines and epidemics which took a toll of millions in the villages. The famine of 1876 left behind decimated towns and depopulated villages, and the bones of the peasants disfigured evry patch of land in Andhra, thus exposing the real nature of the white man's burden superimposed over Indian poverty and backwardness. The public men of Madras and Andhra petitioned for mercy. They did not have even a semblance of the revolutionary sprit that was then sweeping over Western Europe between 1848 and 1871. They were still ignorant of the rudiments of nationalism. Some sections of merchants and intelligentsia, however brought into existence the Mahajana Sabha of Madras in 1884 and its first conference was held in the Pachayappa's Hall, from 29 December to 2 January 1884. It was a representative gathering of 100 delegates from all parts of the Madras presidency. The Secretary, P. Anandachariu, a lawyer, and a future president of the Indian National Congress, stated that the Sabha has affiliated to itself a number of associations in the presidency. According to him the conference was convened to create "mutual understanding between the ruler and the ruled on one hand and the various sections of the ruled on the other hand for there were already "clear and visible signs of misunderstanding in the land". He further remarked that the Mahajana Sabha, would shape the renovated national

spirit along right lines. He wanted similar conferences held in different mofussili towns ' to aid in developing a national feeling ' . Papers were read at the conference on the constitution of the legislative council, the separation of the judicial from revenue functions, the conditions of the ryots, etc. It was decided to print the proceedings and to send them to the Secretary of State and Members of Parliament. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century a number of Telugu journals like Bhasha Sanjivini, Vivekavardhini, Lokarananjal, Purushardhapradhayani, Rasikollasum, Andhra Prakasika highlighted the economic distress of the people resulting from iniquitous taxation, defective and corrupt administration, imperialist wars financed by the Indian tax payer, racial discrimination, the miscarriage of justice in the law courts, rising prices, heavy land revenue demand, neglect of irrigation and a host of other grievances. The documents published in the first volume of the 'Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh' together with the samples of extracts translated from Telugu news papers by Mr. Gustav Oppert and others reveal the wide range of grievances articulated in the columns of the Telugu periodicals of the period.¹⁵ But the editors of these periodicals, had no knowledge or understanding of the working of imperialist state apparatus or the socio-economic roots of the problems that faced the Andhra people. Even the tallest of the leaders like Viresalingam, the father of the modern Andhra awakening in the nineteenth century was unaware of the several writings of Ram Mohan Roy, or the great social democratic traditions of the European reformers. In fact, their thinking was conditioned by the Victorian liberalism of the British ruling class, and did not reflect the patriotic teachings of Gokhale or Tilak. Viresalingam was a firm believer in British sense of justice and freedom from foreign imperialism was beyond the ken of his strivings. His contributions to Telugu literature, his pioneering efforts in the cause of women's uplift, and social reforms, have given him a lasting place in the history of modern Andhra people.

To sum up, the awakening of the Andhra intelligentsia in the nineteenth century was the result of the material conditions created by the British government. Britain as an unconscious tool of history introduced the elements of modern civilisation in the interests of imperialism. While preparing the ground for a national market, the British ruling class carried out far reaching agrarian changes which uprooted an old order, without creating a new one. The Indian middle class of merchants and English educated intellectuals were minor partners in the management of the new administrative and commercial apparatus and the police state. The disarmed old ruling class in Andhra was degenerate and functioned as a parasitic

prop of the imperial government The British civil servants encouraged missionary efforts at proselytisation and the beginnings of resentment among the Indians were feeble attempts at a resistance by means of petitions, and the ideological reaction was in the form of social reforms The leaders of social reform tried to reinterpret Indian scriptures in defence of their stand but rarely invoked the classics of modern humanism and scientific rationalism that inspired the leaders of the French Revolution The Andhra intellectuals in Madras, Rajahmundry, Vizianagaram, Kakinada, Musulipatam and Nellore, generally craved for the blessings of British rule and rarely gave a thought to the economic roots of the imperialist system that produced famines and wars They thought that loyalty to and faith in British rule would benefit their class, and the millions in the villages was not their concern They were even inferior to Sir Thomas Munro, Mackenzie, Charles Philip Brown, Sir Arthur Cotton and George Norton in their understanding of the basic needs of the rural masses The services of these liberal administrators were fruitful of better results than the ill-informed petitioners of Madras and Rajahmundry Our nineteenth century patriots and reformers, neither forgot their colonial moorings nor imbibed the rational ideology of the conquerors, who represented at the time a superior civilisation in the contemporary world

NOTES

1 'The British empire in India was both iniquitous and beneficent it was founded by violence, treachery and insatiable avarice but also by incomparable daring and sustained resolution it united India it partitioned India it industrialised India, it stunted India it degraded India it served India it ravaged India it created modern India it was selfish and selfless, ruinous, constructive, glorious and monstrous' (John Stratchey *The End of an Empire* Delhi, 1959 p II)

2 Cited by Rajani Palme Dutt, *India To day* (1948) pp 57-58.

3 *Ibid*

4 *Ibid.* p, 90-91

5 *Ibid* p. 91

6. Moreland *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (London, 1923) pp 157-8

7 *Journal of Kerala Studies* (July 1973 Vol 1 Serial No 1)

8 Gleig: *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*, vol 3 (London 1830), *Minutes of Munro on the state of the country and the conditions of the People* (31st December 1824)

9 *Minute of Munro 31st December 1824* Gleig: *Life of Munro* Vol. 3 pp. 361-1.

10. Munro to Canning 30 June 1821 Gleig Vol. 2 P 58
11. Digavalli Venkata Siva Rao 1957 *Poorvarangamulu Vijayavada*, (September 1957) pp. 106-7.
12. *The First Report of the School Book Society for the Year 1823* P 13 (Appendix, *The Life of Vennelacunt Subba Row* (1873) pp 65-76.
13. George Norton - *Rudimentals* pp 1 18
14. "History of Education in Madras" Article by Thomas in the *Madras Tricentenary Commemoration, Volume* pp 143 37
15. G Parameswara Pillai *Representative Indians* (1893) pp 146 56
16. *Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh*, Vol 1 Document No 1 (1890-1901) edited by M Venkatarangaiya
17. *Ibid* Document No 3, 30th September, 1817
18. *Ibid* Document No 8. 23rd January 1838
19. *Ibid* Document No 10 October 4, 1846
20. *Ibid* Document No. 14 11th October 1852
21. *Ibid*
22. John Bruce Norton *Conditions and requirements of Madras* Letter to the Secretary Board of Control (1854) pp: 75-76
23. Lady Hope *Life of Sir Arthur Cotton* pp 186-198
24. Public Department Details of the proceedings, 10th July 1886. No 1431.
25. Selected extracts from the Confidential Newspaper Reports *Report on Telugu papers for the month of November, 1874* *Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh*, Ed. M V Venkatarangaiya (Ed) (1965) pp 253-61

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*Distinguished Professors, Members of the
Andhra Pradesh History Congress and
Ladies & Gentlemen*

I am happy to invite all of you to this august function this morning and I am greatly encouraged by the interest shown by all of you in this infant organisation, the Andhra Pradesh History Congress. I deem it my proud privilege to stand and place before you a brief review of the progress made in the field of historical and archaeological studies in Andhra in recent years and problems that await solution in the field of historical research. Several young scholars are here now with their papers and I am sure they will contribute their shares and make it a grand success.

As a result of the explorations and excavations undertaken by Archaeological Survey of India, Universities in the state and State Department of Archaeology, Government of Andhra Pradesh, lot of new data has been made available to researchers on the History of Andhra. Different schools of thought exist today not only with regard to the interpretation but also about the presentation of historical data. Older generation believed in utilising all kinds of historical data and presenting them in a logical sequence without twisting them to present the history from a particular perspective. Subjectivity in History has been considered to be an unwanted and undesirable phenomenon. Hence the history written in the past became compilations of dynastic achievements interspersed with some detail about the cultural advancement. This approach to History was considered by some schools in recent times as inadequate and these schools of thought led by Dr. Kosambi felt that History need not be a mere catalogue of facts but should pre-

sent the development of social movements and cultural changes or evolution of society. This view is gaining momentum and the latest book by Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *'A study of the History and Culture of the Andhras'* presents an argument for a new interpretation of evaluation of historical data which has a relevance to the change in political environment and social values. Being an archaeologist who is trained to present facts as they are without attempting to interpret them to suit the needs of the day I believe in preparing the History of Andhra with minimum possible element of subjectivity in it.

Stone Age tools such as hand axes, cleavers and choppers used by prehistoric man were found at Gudimalam (Chittoor), Patala and Kongalavidu (Prakasam), Amarabad (Mahaboobnagar), Ramagundam and Godavarikhanu (Karimnagar). These help us in assessing the cultural evolution of early man in different parts of Andhra Pradesh.

Outstanding Proto-historic assemblages containing hand made, painted and plain red wares, burnished grey ware, ground stone axes, steatite beads etc., datable to circa 2500 - 1000 A.D., were found at Singanapalli and Patapadu in Kurnool district and Pusalapadu, Kanigirikondalu, Sannakondalu in Prakasam district. Most important find at the last site is a copper axe, exactly similar to the ground stone axes found at the very site. This new culture, which is homogenous and spread over a wide area had cultural contacts with the mature Harappan and late Chalcolithic cultures of North and Western India during this period.

One of the significant results of these cultural contacts was the spread of urban economy to different parts of the Deccan and South India. In the late neolithic times, there was, in the first instance, a remarkable increase in the size of the settlements. Some of the sites of the period, particularly, Prakash, Dairabad and Inamgaon, cover 50 acres or more in area each estimated to accommodate a thousand or more persons. Patapadu, Singanapalle, Ramapuram and other Neolithic - Chalcolithic sites of Kurnool district each of them over 20 acres in area. The areal coverage of these sites would make an immediate contrast to the small-sized early neolithic settlements. At least one of the settlements - Inamgaon has a protective fortification wall around. A general increase of material wealth is also noticed in the late Neolithic times. There was a proliferation of pottery manufacture, considering the variety and quantity of the output. Potter's wheel widely used about this time made mass production of pots possible, indicating thereby the emergence of potters as a professional class in the society. There was scope for the existence of other professional groups as well in the society, but such have not been clearly documented on archaeological record. The in-

crease of communal wealth is reflected by the larger houses built during the period. For instance at Nevasa and Inamgaon some of the houses measure 20' long. Presence of professional groups is incidental to a society producing economic surplus and the latter in turn is documented on archaeological record by storage houses and subterranean silos excavated at a number of sites. We may account for the production of economic surplus by the methods of artificial irrigation presumably practised at the time. All this goes to prove that trends towards urbanisation were already evident in Deccan before 1000 B.C. Literary evidence also testifies to the existence of flourishing towns and cities before 6th century B.C. in some parts of the Deccan. Aitareya Brahmana refers to the kingdom of Vidarbha with its capital Kundina now identified with Kaundinyapura in Amaroti district of Madhya Pradesh. From the Buddhist canonical works, we learn that Potana (Bodhan in Nizamabad dt.) and Pratisthana (Paithan in Maharashtra) were populous towns in the time of the Buddha. The coastal city of Pithundra was also a flourishing metropolis more or less about the same time.

Rock paintings depicting the life of the Pre and Protohistoric people, are of interest. Such specimens were found at Budigapalli in Karimnagar District, Pudicherla, Kethavaram in Kurnool District and Kokapet in Hyderabad District by the Department of Archaeology. In the submersible area under Mylavaram dam in Cuddapah District, in the Gandikota hill ridges – rock painting in red ochre were discovered along with a number of Early and Middle Stone Age tools, Neolithic and Megalithic assemblages by a team of Archaeologists of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The students and staff of the Nagarjuna and Andhra Universities have extensively explored in coastal Andhra Pradesh and brought to light many prehistoric and protohistoric sites. Stone age sites with blade assemblages have been noticed at Chilakagadda (Visakhapatnam Dt.) Eluwaram (East Godavary) and Motlavaripadu (Prakasam Dt.). The last mentioned site has yielded fossils also. At Chilakagadda and Eluwaram we found a neat cultural continuity between the blade-tool and microlithic assemblages. Miss Kasturibai, one of our research students has surveyed the entire length of the Eeru river valley and prepared a longitudinal profile showing two aggradational phases of the river with a disconformity in between. Mr Bhaskara Murty has surveyed the Lower Godavary valley and re-explored the sites discovered by Cammiade in 1920s. It is noteworthy that no Middle Stone Age sites are present in the Godavary Districts while a little to the south we have an abundant number of them in Guntur and Prakasam Districts. B. R. Subrahmanyam and B. David Raju have extensively explored in coastal Andhra Pradesh.

and brought to light many neolithic bearing localities. Around 30 sites have been discovered in Guntur district alone and these belong to the Southern neolithic complex. Ganduru Jonnalagadda and Kambham-padu appear to be promising among these and merit full-fledged excavations. Interestingly many sites yielding neolithic tools of the Eastern Indian type have been noticed at a number of localities to the north of the Godavary river. Jami in Visakhapatnam district for the first time brought to light a neolithic culture of Eastern Indian affiliation in this area and the evidence was followed up at a number of other sites like Kasipatnam, Madhuravada, Lankalapalem, Sitapalle and Rinnachodivaram in Visakhapatnam and East Godavary districts. Dr. Timmiah excavated at Paradesipalem in Visakhapatnam district and collected neolithic celts and red pottery. The coastal region to the north of the Godavary continued to present Eastern Indian cultural affiliations even in the Early Iron age times. For instance period II of Jami produced many pot forms and decorative motifs comparable to those from Sisupalgarh and Jaugada in Orissa. This evidence coupled with the fact that megalithic burials are absolutely rare in the area, suggests the reason for naming the territory as Kalinga different from Andhra by our ancients.

Excavations during the last two years by the Archaeological Survey of India, Department of Archaeology and Nagarjuna University have thrown invaluable light on the early beginnings and spread of Saivism, Buddhism and Jainism in Andhra Pradesh.

As you are perhaps aware the large scale excavations at Nagarjuna-konda brought many new facts about the later Satavahana and Ikshvaku rulers (2nd - 4th Century A.D.). A rich crop of epigraphical and architectural wealth came to light not only Buddhism and its closely affiliated Pali - Prakrits which dominated the Andhra during the times, but also Saivism and Sanskrit learning which came to the fore-front have profound influence on the populace of Andhra. There was no religious rancour. While kings were Saivites, the lady folk were Buddhists and Patronised the widely popular Mahayana Buddhist Sanghas.

Recent Archaeological investigations at Amaravati have proved the existence of Buddhist Sanghas and monks at least a century earlier to Asoka and Emperor Asoka was only the first patron of the already existing Buddhist *Mahastupa* at this place which enshrined the *dhatu* of the Lord. Early inscriptions on granite uprights and the fragmentary Asokan pillar inscription are some of the important finds here. The latter record appears to be engraved over existing *Stambha* and as per the latest view of Dr. Irwin, (Indian Express dated 19th and 20th Nov. 1975)

these free standing pillars or *Dhvajas* are pre Buddhistic in origin, M. G. S. Narayana of Cochin University reported an inscription of pre-Asokan times in Vidisa (*JIH*, LIV pt. I, April, 1976, pp 54-71) Profuse quantities of NBP and existence of Buddhist monks at Amaravati prior to 'Mahachaitya's coming into being, preludes a cultural - chronological nearness of Amaravati to *Mahajanapadas* like Vidisa, Ujjain, Vaisali, Rajaghat, Sravasti etc. Soon, inscribed sculptural evidence became prolific and they substantiate this early impact. Dharnikota was perhaps an unrivalled centre in the peninsular India, not only nurturing the earliest wave of Buddhism from East but perhaps received the Master himself, if we are to rely on the recent studies on *Kalachakra Mulatantra* by Helmut Hoffman (Buddha's preaching of Kalachakra Tantra at the Stupa of Dhanyakataka, "*German Scholars of India*", } (Varanasi, 1973 pp 136-40)

The Excavation at Chandavaram, the southern most site in Andhra by the State Department of Archaeology, Government of Andhra Pradesh brought to light an imposing terraced *stupa* embellished with an array of sculptured friezes in lime stone. More than 40 upright slabs were found around the drum. The *stupa* measured 50 metres in diameter and the site has a very promising and extensive habitations, fortifications etc., datable from late Satavahana to Vishnukundin times.

Another important Buddhist *stupa* with more than 30 meters diameter and datable to 2nd century B. C., was discovered on the outskirts of a small village Dhulikatta in Karimnagar District. Sumptuously carved, the *stupa*, resembles the example at Pauni near Nagpur (Maharashtra).

The excavation at Gollathagudi - an important Jain settlement during Early Medieval Age revealed a unique brick temple dedicated to Mahavira.

Some outstanding new discoveries have changed our earlier view points on the spread of Saivism and temple architecture. A problem oriented excavation at the famous Siva temple, Gudimallam (in 1974) by Sri I. K. Sarma of the Archaeological Survey of India have brought to light that in early 2-3 centuries before Christ this unique Lingam containing the *Purusha* standing on *Apasmara* on its frontal face, was worshipped in open and surrounded by a railing like *Savedika Vrikshas* in sculptures of Barhut and Sanchi and *Silavedika lingas* seen on the coin of Ujjain datable to 3rd century B. C. Worship during this period included sacrifice of animals. The *Purusha* i.e., the Siva form closely resembles *Vedī Rudra*, nude and roaming with *Parasu* and with

out *Yajnopavita*. He imbibed the characteristic features of *Kapardin*, *Virupaksha*, *Bikshatanamurti* and so on. What is more striking in the earlier period is the "*Silavedika lingam*" set-up in open. The *Yoni-pithas* circular rings, one inset within another, is a realistic presentation of a female organ and these stone rings bear Mauryan finish and polish. The linga is also realistic - Penis erect (*Urdhva retah*). Black-and-Red ware pottery and Mauryan punch-marked coins were found associated in this level. Thus this unique shrine in far south in Chittoor Dt. has a beginning in 3rd century B.C. In the second phase i.e., Satavahana (I & II century A.D.) this open lingam was first brought with in apsidal shrine. A brick temple was found close to it but below the Bana-Chola stone temple now *in-situ* on the surface. This evidence when viewed with the unique brick Brahmanical temples unearthed at Nagarjunakonda - such as *Kartikeya*, *Pusapabhadra* and *Nadagisvara* and the famous *Kopotesvara* temple at Chezerla would at once reveal that Brahmanical Hinduism was equally early and in spite of the fact that Buddhism and Jainism flourished during the period, Saivism was equally popular and much respected. These evidences reveal to us another fact that the science of architecture was common to all the faiths and developed a distinctive outlook only later, to suit the contemporary worship modes as the iconography and creed regimentation came to stay in mediaval times. Much field work and data need to be gathered in these lines to further substantiate this hypotheses.

ALVAGE ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeological and Historical wealth is facing complete obliteration with the fast growing structural activity in modern industrial towns and river valley projects. Sometimes the organisations entrusted with this work, report about their chance discoveries to the Archaeological Survey of India. But many of them go unnoticed. If this is allowed to continue it is likely to cause irreparable damage to the source material of Andhra history and culture. Many of the sites have become victims of large scale spoliation under schemes of industrialization. We have faced a major catastrophe 20 years back when a dam was constructed on Krishna at Nagarjunakonda. The world famous site was threatened with wholesale submersion. Large scale excavations were conducted and much of the Archaeological wealth was retrieved.

Much more serious danger is looming large in a different direction now. Under the Hydro-electric project at Srisailem, scores of villages are getting submerged. This area has not received due attention from historians and archaeologists so far. This has been the cradle of early

civilization particularly in the field of art and architecture. The sites like Sangameswaram, Alampur etc. are very significant for architectural studies. Before they are irretrievably lost, survey, systematic explorations and excavations have to be conducted by institutions like Universities, Governmental Departments and learned bodies. This has to be taken up in a planned way and executed on a war footing since the areas are going under water within the next three years.

Village to-village survey was conducted by Sri I K Sarma and that highlights the threat faced by the great archaeological treasures, both standing and hidden in the submersible villages under Srisailem project. The present generation has a sacred and urgent duty to salvage monuments of great artistic merit of the Chalukyan and Vijayanagara periods at Sangameswaram, Jatpuru, Kudavalli, Gudem, Alampur, Prathakota, Malleswaram by bodily transplanting them to higher levels. The antiquarian remains from the early historical mounds as seen at Satanikota, Kudavalli, Chegatur, Vapaldevipadu have to be retrieved through systematic excavations. Hundreds of architectural members, icons, sculptures and inscribed slabs have to be safe guarded from 35 villages. Sri Sarma's paper to this conference details the magnitude of this problem on this side of River Krishna. On the north side also equal number of villages are getting affected and it is our sacred duty, all of us historians and archaeologists to bring proper pressure on the govt to take up the needed measure for salvaging all this archaeological wealth for the sake of posterity.

The history of the Satavahanas has been attempted by eminent scholars like Bhandarkar, Sukthankar, Venkata Rao, Ramachandraiah, Rama Rao, M S Sarma and a host of other scholars. Their approach was traditional. In spite of their work, number of problems connected with Satavahana history are still unsettled. Their original home, their chronology are subjects on which there is no unanimity of opinion. The Saka era which has been extensively used only in South India attributed to Kanishka who ruled over Northern India has not been satisfactorily driven. The problem needs a fresh reappraisal. In recent years the studies on the history of Satavahana times are distinguished for its many-sided approach. Vidya Deharia's *Early Rock cut Temples*, London 1972, tackles the problem of the chronology of Rock cut temples of Western India with reference to the Palaeography of Western Indian Inscriptions. This study has raised several questions on the dates of several well known inscriptions. Though Vidya Deharia prefers B.C. 120, as the commencement of Satavahana rule, many articles that appeared in recent years advocate a late start for the Satavahana rule. These studies are mainly based on numismatics and allied matters. In

in this context the Seminar on Coinage of the Satavahanas and coins from excavations held at Nagapur is another important contribution to the subject. The proceedings published in 1972 covers a wide range of topics from typology to social and economic aspects. Most important are the data presented chiefly from excavations, the regional distribution of the coin types and bilingual silver coins. In this I K Sarma pleads for 240 B.C., as the beginning of Satavahana rule, while A.M. Sastri puts forth the case of 1st century B.C. In Sarma's article we get an excellent bibliography of the regional distribution of coin types. P.R.K. Prasad's article on bilingual coins is a forceful case made out for the use of Telugu in the legends of Satavahana coins. I.K. Sarma's articles 'Fresh light on the History of Satavahanas in *Vijaya Vo* III pp 1-19, The names Satavahana, Satakarni and the significance of the Srivatsa symbol on the Satavahana coinage in *Indica* Vol 9 No. 2 pp 83-88, Early Telugu in some Prakrit inscriptions of Andhra-A, Study in *Epigraphia Andhraica* Vol IV, 1-7 are also worth mentioning. I am inclined to accept B.C. 268 as the date for the rise of Satavahanas to power.

Recent discovery of a Satavahana inscription at Banavasi is a welcome addition to the sources of later Satavahana times. Prof. Narasimha Murthy and Bhat have edited an inscription of Siva - Sri Pulumavi in the *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* Vol I, pp 34-8. While the editions aver that Vasisthiputra Pulumavi was succeeded by Siri Satakarni and was followed by Siva Siri Pulumavi who ruled from 150-156 A.D., it is also said that he was the grandson of Pulumavi II and was the same as Satakarni. Prof. Mirashi in *Archaeological Studies* Vol I pp 26-28 questioned this view and opined that the King Siva Sri Pulumavi is none other than Vasisthiputra Pulumavi, a son of Gautamiputra. A review of an inscription made by Dr. R.L. Gupta is also interesting. In an article entitled 'Naneghat Inscription of an Unknown Queen, A Historical reappraisal' in *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* Vol III pp 59-71, Dr. Gupta says that the record belongs to the time of Vedisri and dates to 1st century A.D. He also believes that the Dimita of Hathigumpha inscription should be read as Vimaka, the Kushan ruler Vimakhadphises.

Studies on art and architecture of this period also received attention. Most important is the excavations at Amaravati which established the pre-Mauryan origin of the stupa. Number of inscriptions discovered on the architectural pieces range 3rd Century B.C., to 7th century A.D. These have been reported by I.K. Sarma in *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* Vol. I. The excavations at Chandavaram, Dhulikatta have brought to light stupas of 1st century B.C., and at Dhulikatta mud fortification is also exposed. Perhaps this belongs to Satavahana times. It is a significant feature.

which has to be examined in more detail after systematic horizontal excavations

The studies on Ikshvakus began by Prof Vogel with the editing of Nagarjunakonda Inscriptions and later Prof D C Sircar, H Sarkar and myself wrote on political and cultural matters in *Epigraphia Indica Ancient India* Studies in *Early History of Andhra* and *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture, A catalogue of the Ikshvaku Coins in the A P Gort, Museum* (Hyderabad 1952) Recently one more inscription has been discovered at Alluru by I K Sarma, the Kesanapalli Inscription of Chantamula in *Epigraphia Andhrica* Vol I pp 146-49 has edited been by me

For the early Pallavas an inscription has been published in *Epigraphia Andhrica* Vol I pp 1-14 Nedungaraya grant of Pallava Yuvamaharaja, Visnugopavarman by Dr Venkataramanayya

Coming to the Vishnukundin times, the discovery of copper plate grants of Vikramendra Varman II and Govindavarman from Tummala-gudem brought to light by Sri B N Sastri deserves special attention These have been edited by Dr Sankaranarayana in *Epigraphia Andhrica* Vol II and also by Dr Venkataramanayya in his monograph on Vishnukundins in Telugu published in 1973 The excavation at Kesaragutta by the State Department of Archaeology, I expect, would throw new light on the history of Andhra, particularly of Visnukundin period in Telangana area

After the monumental work on the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, Dr Venkataramanayya has edited the Charters of Vijayaditya I, Vijaya ditya II, Gunakanalla Vijayaditya III, Chalukya Bhima I, and Amaraja Visnuvardhana in *Epigraphia Andhrica* Vol III

To the history of Renadu, the Pedachaphalli plates of Srikantha Srimanchara Cola edited by P V P Sastry in *Epigraphia Andhrica* Vol. IV pp 13-20 is a welcome addition Many inscriptions of Gangas also came to light in recent times The Nandabalaga plates of Vajrahasta III edited by C Somasundara Rao in *Epigraphia Andhrica* Vol. IV pp. 25-32, Mukhalingam plates of Anan'avarma Code Ganga edited by N M Rao in *Epigraphia Andhrica* Vol IV pp 33-48 deserve mention

The history of Madugonda Calukyas, hitherto a dark period, became clear with the discovery of Korayi epigraph of Calukya prince Niravadya, Kukkanuru plates of Kusumaditya of the Madugonda Calukya

family - all published in *Epigraphia Andhrica* Vol I & II are very useful source material. The Bayyaram, Sanigaram inscriptions edited in Vol I and IV of the same journal are also important for the history of Kakatiyas, particularly for establishing on a firm basis their beginnings. Another epigraph from Chandupatla mentions the death of Rudramadevi. This has been edited by Mr R V P Sastry.

The historic capital of Vijayanagara empire is being excavated by ASI. The structural remains exposed so far in the palace complex reveal the existence of an earlier town at the site. A Brahmi inscription engraved on one of the architectural members discovered at the site seems to take back antiquity of the site to 1st century B C.

The medieval history of Deccan under the able editorship of Prof. Sherwani has brought out two volumes dealing with political and cultural history of the Bahamani and Vijayanagar and their successor kingdoms and it is a useful addition to the last of books on Medieval Deccan.

To the art and architecture of the early and medieval period and later phases Temple Survey Branch of A S I has carried out important surveys. Sarkar's work on Renandu deserves special mention. A brief report has appeared in 1974 in *Indian Archaeology a Review*. The Early Calukyan architecture also received attention. The following by Rajendra Prasad 'Latin Temples at Alampur' *JISOA* Vol V, Soundararajan *Early Temple Architecture in Karnataka and its Ramifications* are important. It may also be mentioned that the identification of the temples at Kadamarakalava and Panyam as of Nagara style and of Vikramaditya's and Vijayaditya's periods, has been made and they have been discussed in detail. Rajendraprasad in his articles in *JISOA*. He has also studied the temples of Rastrakuta period in Western Andhra in detail.

In the field of Modern Andhra History keen interest and enthusiasm is being shown by the scholars. Studies on personalities and their contribution have appeared. Dr Rudrayya Choudary's work on *Prakasam*, deserves commendation. Ramakrishna's work on *Veerasingham and his times* is another useful book on the history of the contemporary society of Andhra. Dr Kesavanarayana's work *Political and Social Factors in Andhra* 1976, is interesting. So also regional studies like Eric Frykanberg's on Guntur District is a definitive study. I may also mention the work of Bandi Gopala Reddy who brought out *Brown Jabutu* and *Tatacharla Kathala* in Telugu. They bear the real zeal and vigour of scientific research and throw a flood of light on

the social and economic aspects of Andhra country Dr Mangamma's work on *Book Printing in India with Special Reference to the Contribution of European Scholars to Telugu (1746-1857)* describes the efforts to promote oriental languages in general and the contribution of European scholars to Telugu in particular. Most important however is the work of Prof Venkatarangaiah *Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh* in 3 volumes.

Prof Venkatarangaiah has suggested to me that we should plan to bring out a complete Bibliography on the History of Andhra and who's who in Andhra History I earnestly hope the Congress will embark upon the projects as they are useful for further research.

Before conclude this reveiw, I should place on record that the Universities of Karnataka Madras, Poona, Patna and J N. U are taking keen interest in the study of problems related to Andhra History and Culture We have in our midst today, Prof Dikshit who has initiated and encouraged studies on Andhra, and to him we are thankful.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS - ANCIENT HISTORY

O. RAMACHANDRAIAH

Fellow Delegates and Ladies and Gentlemen,

I missed the inaugural session of this History Congress last year at Kavaratti. The executive took care to see that I should not suffer the loss again. I thank them for their considerate affection to have me preside over this section on Ancient History of Andhra.

Among the delegates here, I find a significant majority who had studied the History of Andhra with me at the Andhra University. My move to introduce it for study at the Post-Graduate level was stalled for more than a year, lest it might harbinge parochialism. I have no doubt, among all the linguistic groups of Indians, despite their sudden spurts of violent expression, the Andhras are least parochial, except in an internecine way.

My wish was a simple one, we should no longer deny ourselves the knowledge of how we have arrived. Though they took some time over it, the Andhra University was the first to adopt the proposal. I may, therefore, claim to have helped, in a small and distant way, the rise of this A P History Congress.

The Andhras are an ancient people, one of the earliest known to History, with a step back into Proto-and Pre-history. First mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana, they come in for considerable notice in the Puranas, as conquerors of Magadha. Foreign notices and epigraphy present them as contemporaries of the Mauryas. Then they fade out as Andhras to emerge under the name of Satavahanas. This is of utmost significance. It is the achievement of the Satavahana Kula, that

built up the integrated personality of the Andhra Jati. The importance of this identity cannot be over emphasised.

So very ancient is the History of the Andhras. But it is not easy to fix when it ceased to be Ancient and started turning Mediaeval. The lines demarcating the Ancient, the Mediaeval and the Modern are like tracks of fish in water-difficult to draw and hold on to. The notion is essentially subjective, depending on whom the person exercising his mind in this direction places himself. Still we need draw these lines even nationally, for purposes of convenient study.

The problem is a complicated one more than for northern Indian History. For some of them in the north, the Mediaeval starts with the chaos ushered in with the death of Harsha in 647 A.D. for others, it begins in 1206 A.D., with the arrival of Islam in Delhi for dominant stay rendering the north politically unified but culturally split. The same is not true of the Dekhan and the South even after the establishment of the Bahmuni Kingdom. For, by then, Andhra successively under the Kakatiya, the Reddi and the Vijayanagar powers came to connote far more than the Dekhan plateau. Militarily often victorious the Bahmuni kingdom continued at cross-purposes with Moslem north and under constant pressure of Hindu Vijayanagar and Orissa. The political and cultural domination of Andhra by Islam was fairly complete by 1565 A.D. when the battle of Raksas Tagadi was fought and won by the Sultans of the Dekhan. The process could be deemed completed with the death of Araviti Venkatapati Devaraya-II in 1614 A.D. That was when the Mughals began reaching out for the south to contend for political sovereignty against Bijapur, Golconda and the Maratha. It was also when the seaboard started to play a definitive role in deciding the political fortunes of Andhra and the rest of India in favour of the west.

But then, this is relevant to dating the end of the Mediaeval period in the history of the Peninsula, offering for the transition alternatives among A.D. 1565 and 1614 and even the 80's of 17th century A.D., ringing Bijapur, Golconda and Vijayanagara out and ringing in the Modern period, with the Mughal, the Maratha and the West.

Our problem to fix a convenient date for the end of the Ancient period of Andhra History still remains. For this, I venture to suggest A.D. 624 for your serious consideration. About then, Satyasraya, Pulakesi-II of Vatapi effectively baulked Harsha's ambitions in the South and initiated the independent line of the Chalukyas of Vengi, under his brother, Kubja Vishnu Vardhana. For seven centuries there-

after, the north held no threat to the Dekhan, either political or military; Vatapi Chalukyas and their successor dynasties confined their activities essentially to the west of Eastern Ghats, though with frequent forays into coastal Andhra. But the Vengi Chalukyan rule continued, practically unbroken for full five centuries, until it yielded up its last monarch Rajendra Kulottunga, to the Cholas of Tanjore for thier sovereign. With the solitary exception of the Indrapalanagara plates of Vishnukundin Vikramendravarman-II, it is with the Chalukyas, the epigraphical records in Andhra begin regularly to get dated in Saka era. 624 A. D. was the beginning of yet another development of great significance. Regional bifurcation of the Western Chalukyas and the Eastern initiated a like bifurcation of their dialects and scripts, finding their full bloom in Kannada and Telugu. Telugu under the patronage of the Eastern Chalukyas, freeing itself from a total tutelage to Sanskrit developed its own individuality and literary excellence and got accepted at once as the language of the people and of the court. These are momentous developments that could be traced back to the beginning of Eastern Chalukyan rule in 624 A. D. That is when we could rightly rest the Ancient period of Andhra History and begin the Mediaeval period thereof.

We might realise that periodisation in History, though is subjective, cannot be arbitrarily fixed. It is governed by considerations of the area and the theme or people. For History is the sequential study of man in space. Man in a given habitat is the subject of study and we should be able causally to connect up his actions, if we are to understand him. This cannot be done without fixing the precedence among events he is connected with. Hence the need for chronology. It is a fashionable pastime of some of the uninitiated to belittle and even decry the datings in History. It is a lack of perspective they could well save themselves from. More often, it is a commentary on their inability to remember dates. Forsooth dates are mere pointers to events. If you are genuinely interested in the event it should be difficult to forget its date.

Yet for the History of early Andhra, no chronological scheme is generally agreed upon. Palaeography, regnal years unrelated to any known era, the Prakritic or the Sanskritic way of dating or the Prakrit or the Sanskrit language used in the epigraphical records - none of these has provided a firm base to fix the precedences. The only consensus reached - and this I mention with some hesitation - is over the beginning of the Andhra - Satavahana rule in the late 70's or early 60's of 3rd C. B. C. This is equally true of the end of the Visnukundin rule early in 7th C. A. D., the terminal I suggest for the early period of Andhra History.

Within these limits, quite a few royal houses held sway in Andhra. But all our knowledge of them and stiltations of their deeds stay airy, unless these are all territorially tied up. We hardly know for certain the extent of the areas where they and their peoples lived, moved and functioned. We suffer a great lack of political geography of early Andhra Pradesh. The work of late Sri K. Iswara Dutt and the collective effort initiated by Sri K. Lakshmiranjanam head this way, but they are mere probes, not sufficiently substantial.

Of all the dynasties of early Andhra, only the Satavahanas could attain Imperial status, as conquerors of Magadha. How they endured there and for how long, what made them abandon their Magadhan possessions—these have not been investigated so far. Some kings among the Ikshvakus, Salankayanas and the Vishukudins are known to have performed the Asvamedha, Rajasuya and even the Vajapeya sacrifices, but they somehow failed to secure imperial investiture at the hands of our Historians.

Here, with your indulgence, I refer to a different set of Historians we may name them politician-Historians. They deny the term 'Empire' to any power within India, big or small, ancient or mediaeval. They argue these were instances merely of wresting or recovering a part of self-same India. We should be thankful that, in this, they deem India as one Unit. For, some three decades back, those very gentlemen were vehement that there never was one India, but several kingdoms, each independent and sovereign and sufficient unto itself. But that was when the growing Nationalism in India was sought to be fought in favour of Pro-Moscow internationalism. Yet India had never vaunted imperialism, if it meant the exploitation of the vanquished for the benefit of the victor and his chosen people. The Indian type of Imperialism stopped with the recognition of a single suzerain, the defeated being permitted to hold and govern their own realms.

Yet another trend these days is to devalue historiography that is not socio-economically oriented. A charge levelled against our early Historians is that they dwelt solely and at length on monarchs and their doings and hardly reflect the masses of common people and their plight. This is true, but only partially so. Historians, as a class, have not failed to notice any element that had entered the general stream of Indian life. They are normally taken up with such influences and affect large areas and move and mould the lives of vast masses of people. Monarchs in those times provided such influences. None would dispute the claim that Vedic life, Upanishadic and Epic, reformist movements and new religious schools like Jainism and

Buddhism have been appreciably investigated. If now, historiography seeks other pastures, it is because monarchs have ceased to be the founts of such influences. To-day historians find them in Ministerial, commercial and communal cabals and their policies and practices. But the approach is not far different.

History is the enquiry we conduct into the thought that lies behind the series of past events of which we have some empirical evidence. To find and evaluate various types of evidence is an art not easily come by. Our earliest sources of information are Puranic texts and to understand relevant references, we should acquire a feel of the idiom and usage of the language then current. Given this we could have saved ourselves from the confusion caused by the mixing up of Simuka the Slayer of Susarma Kanva, with Simuka the founder of the Satavahana rule. The name could apply to any of Simuka's line. Had not Kalidasa, linguistically nearer the redactors of the Puranas described as Raghus all the seven sons of Rama and of his brothers?*

Greater is the need for translation to be exact, where the original information is to be edited or commented upon. Take for instance the Puranic text "Susarmanam presahya tam Simukozadrajateayat prapsyatimam vasundharam," Translated as 'Simuka of the Andhra race, having killed Susarma will obtain possession of the earth' this led to the confounding of the Slayer of Susarma with the founder of the Andhra kingdom. It is common knowledge that the Andhra kingdom originated farther away from Magadha. The slayer of Susarma only extended it to Magadha, he did not 'obtain possession of the earth' - he obtained possession of 'This territory' — 'Imam Vasundharam', the territory that earlier had Susarma for king.

Much as is said, much more could be mentioned the way I tried to above. But I shall not stand between you and your deliberations any more. I may however, utter a word of caution. Historical conclusions should be logical, though the actions of which they are the accounts could be most illogical at times. They should be drawn from known, verifiable evidence, however meagre it may be. Non-mention can never form the basis of any historical inference. Premises should not be imagined to yield conclusions desired. Otherwise, there is no end to historians and to historiography. I hope and believe that all your endeavours would be to save us all from the growing threat of this type of historical inflation.

* Kusa described as the Jyesta of Sapta Raghu Pravarah (Raghu-vamsan, Canto 16, Sloka 1)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS -

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Prof T V, MAHALINGAM

I feel it a great honour to have been invited to preside over the medieval history section of this second session of Andhra History Congress this year. When the invitation reached me a few weeks ago I wondered how I was chosen President of this section. But I feel that there is some justification for my participation in the deliberations of this Congress for two reasons. I am very much interested in the history of Andhradesa and the role this part of our country has played in the evolution of our culture in its various aspects in the medieval period. For another thing you may be surprised to know that though I now come from the heart of Tamil Nadu I am descended from a family which migrated south in the course of the expansionist period of Vijayanagar, its original home village being Sreshtalur in South Andhra. I am really grateful to the organisers of the Andhra History Congress for the opportunity given to me to take part in this session.

Historiography is comparatively speaking a new science in India, though as understood by the ancient intellectuals of our country, it has had an old and respectable tradition. To-day it is an advanced and complicated one which has many sided facets. Ideas about the content of history have changed from time to time even during the last 200 years. In the nineteenth century when a good number of Western scholars engaged themselves in the writing of Indian History they were more concerned with and concentrating on, its imperial aspects relating to kings and courts and wars and conquest. Regional history consisting of the study of particular homogenous regions did not attract them much. But in the recent decades, especially after our country attained independence,

views have changed on Indian historiography and the aspects to be covered in the writing of it. The study of the history of different dynasties ruling over different parts of the country, the culture and achievements of the different peoples in each of them have come to attract scholars more and more. It is after independence that we are making for instance concerted attempts at the writing of the history of the Deccan or South India to bring out in focus their achievements through the ages. It is in that context that conferences of this kind are significant and useful.

It may be reasonably asked if in these days of the realisation of the oneness of India, the need for a strong Union at the Centre and the interdependence of one part of the country on another, it is appropriate to think and talk in terms of regions separated from one another geographically, linguistically or racially. But in a vast country like ours one cannot expect much uniformity in all, either in political development or in cultural equipment and progress all through the ages. For the development of the composite culture of India every region and every period has contributed something and it is of more than academic interest to study and understand the nature of the contributions of each region to the sum total of Indian culture. Hence the principle guiding the historical writing on a regional basis must be the evaluation of the contributions of a particular region to the sum total of our country's cultural heritage. The historians attempting to narrate the history of a dynasty or a region during a specific period should avoid the tendency to become, knowingly or unknowingly, the pleaders advocating the superiority of the respective dynasties or regions over their contemporary counterparts. Much of the charm of the regional historical writing, I think, lies in the fact that it must be a penetrative and comprehensive study of the aspects of the history of that region, revealing the trends of evolution as also comparative analysis based on broad outlook. It is also to be borne in mind that it would be difficult to write the history of a locality isolating it from other parts of the country. The annals of the history of our country is full of 'contacts, adjustments, influences and diffusion'. One must be aware of the fact that conclusions arrived at on work based on a totally narrow and regional outlook are changed or revised or liable to change, when a similar attempt is made regarding a different region. Such a narrow study of the history of only a limited area would at times lead to suggestions which may require revision in the light of contemporary history of the neighbouring region. At least some of such weaknesses can be avoided only if the regional histories are written taking into consideration contemporary evidence in a wider perspective.

This Congress has been divided into three sections ancient, medieval and modern and we are meeting here in the Medieval History Section. The problem of periodization in history is not easy, for historical development is a continuous process. However such a division is made generally not only with regard to the history of our country but also the history of many countries of the world. It was James Mill who divided Indian history for the first time into three periods and named the first two periods as Hindu and Muslim and the third as British. It is interesting to note here in respect of the third period the religious nomenclature was dispensed with and was called not Christian but British. This kind of classification seems to be arbitrary and cannot be applied to the history of a vast country like ours for the end of the first period and the beginning of the second period were not the same with regard to all regions in it.

The Muslim period as it is called is usually taken to be coeval with the medieval period and considered to begin with the establishment of Muslim rule in India but it is evident that such establishment of Muslim rule in different parts of the country did not take place at the same time. It is a known fact that while the Arabs established their short lived rule in Sind in the eighth century and the Muslims extended their hegemony over large parts of North India in the thirteenth century it took a longer time for the Muslim to spread themselves further south. This arbitrary classification of the periods into Hindu and Muslim and the consequent development of the thesis is that during the so called Muslim period the Muslims evolved a separate political entity in the country is not borne out by facts. Some scholars have preferred the use of the words ancient medieval and modern in the place of Hindu Muslim and the British periods. Even there it appears that each period is taken to be characterised by certain factors that influenced the rise and fall of kingdoms and administrations. To my mind it appears that each area in the country developed certain institutions and characteristics during a particular period and they should be taken into account in the periodisation to be followed in history. We have to keep in mind not only the political fortunes of the country which form only one aspect of its variegated history but also the major trends in the social economic and intellectual movements in such periodisation.

Andhradesa which covers a wide area has a distinct personality of its own and has played a large role in the administrative evolution religious movements literary growth and development of art and architecture in our country. It has contributed much to the development of the various aspects of Indian culture particularly not only because of its geographical position in the country but also on

account of its continuous history from very ancient times for over 2,000 years

Taking into consideration the factors regarding the periodisation mentioned above, there were certainly changes in the patterns of social and cultural movements in Andhradesa from age to age and they should form the basis of much divisions. The ancient period of Andhra history may be taken to end in the fifth or sixth century A D when the smaller kingdoms like those of the Ikshvakus, Vishnukundins, Salankayanas, and Birhatphalayanans, Anandagot-rins etc, came to an end and bigger kingdoms with imperial ambitions came into existence like those of the Chalukyas of Vengi, as also the social, religious and economic organisations in the country underwent changes on regulated pattern all over Andhradesa, as they did farther south in Tamil Nadu with the rise of the Pallavas and the Pandyas. The main characteristics of the medieval period were different in Andhradesa from those of the earlier period with regard to social organisation, theistic developments, economic growth and systematization growth and changes in certain political institutions which played a large role in the history of Andhradesa till it came under the impact of the British in the eighteenth century followed by Western influence on the life of the people which eventually marked the end of the medieval period and commenced what may be called modern period

The medieval history of South India is characterised by the rise and development of mighty kingdoms though they cannot stand comparison with the empires of the Mauryas or Guptas or of the Pushya Bhutis. Each such medieval South Indian kingdom was confined to large parts of a geographically homogenous area which at times was extended into the neighbouring territories. The kingdoms were fairly large and kept in tact under each dynasty by a succession of able rulers. A general weakness with them was their frequent and persistent wars with their respective neighbours, mainly for enlarging the boundaries of their kingdoms to assert their supremacy over others, creating spheres of influence and checking the ambitions of the neighbours, though there were also other factors that were responsible for them. We have now a fair idea of the history of many of the kingdoms that rose and fell in South India in the medieval period. But in progress of time there is a large accession of new and valuable material about them both literary and epigraphical. This affords much scope for adding fresh and useful information about these kingdoms. One among them is the Vijayanagar empire about which there appears to be a mistaken impression that it has

been overworked. But it is not really so. The publications on its role in South India's many sided history are not commensurate with the large volume of fresh material relating to it that is now available. A full fledged and upto date account of that great emire based on all available information is a hard felt need.

An interesting and very important development perceivable in them edieval kingdoms like those of the Chalukyas of Vengi, the Kakatiyas, the Vijayanagar rulers, etc., relating to a number of minor principalities, chieftaincies and rulerships within these empires which enjoyed a large element of autonomy within their respective areas though they owed allegiance to their imperial overlords. This kind of political relationship between the king and his subordinates has the characteristic of what we generally term 'Feudalism' in contemporary Europe. The main elements of feudalism as understood by a student of medieval history are based on land though the elements of political and military obligations on the part of the subordinates were also there. Though the term feudalism is generally used to characterise the politico social economic organisation of the period, there are some scholars who question on the correctness of the expression, feudalism, to indicate their relationship, viewing the problem from European parallars. Feudaism has two aspects, political and economic largely based on land. The subordinate ruler administers a territory on behalf of the king and owes allegiance to him, besides he is under certain obligations such as military and financial. Some of these aspects are comparable to those in contemporary Europe but fall short of some of all such characteristics but possess their own distinct features. It is for want of a better term that we call it feudalism.

Andhradesa excels the other parts of our country in the number of such minor tributary principalities ruled by chieftains of considerable political importance. A study of their political set up, authority, degree of allegiance and nature of obligations to the overlord kings would be of great value in understanding the ideologies and patterns of Indian feudalism. The characteristics of feudalism as gleaned from the socio-political conditions of the medieval period of Andhra's history require detailed and careful study. In the history of Andhra we very often find that the kingdom of the Kakatiyas for instance was divided into a number of divisions probably of a conventional nature and parcelled out among subordinates. It is of interest to note here that a similar system seems to have existed under the Nayaks rulers of Madurai in Tamil Nadu.

It may also be mentioned here that even now we are more concerned with larger kingdoms and the achievements of their great rulers than the origin, development and working of the smaller chieftaincies in them. But in reality such chieftaincies were one of the main causes for the integration and greatness or disintegration of their suzerain kingdoms. Unless sufficient work is done on these minor dynasties and chieftaincies that played a large role in the making or unmaking of the mighty empires, our knowledge of the history of medieval Andhra, nay any part of our country, during the medieval period will be considered incomplete.

A second characteristic of the medieval period of the history of Andhradesa, as of other parts of South India, is a perceptible change in the social system that obtained in the land. In the earlier period covered by those of the Satavahanas and their successors upto the rise of the Chalukyas of Vengi one notices the predominance of the Sanskritic, Vedic and Brahmanical institutions. But in the subsequent period Andhradesa like other parts of South India appears to have undergone a change in the social structure where the Brahmin theocratic predominance does not appear to have been so high as in the earlier period on account of the rise of the status of new castes and communities with their intermixture. The social system underwent a change in which communities like those of the Vaisyas and non-dvijas became a factor to be reckoned with in the politico social organisation. It does not mean, however, that the brahmanical community as such or Vedic Sanskritic learning suffered. But the social changes are perceptible and marked. This is seen from the rise of a number of chieftaincies and offices conferred by the kings on people who came to be called the Nayakas, Padmanayakas and so on. The leading desideratum is to analyse these changes in the social structure in Andhradesa and bring out the causes of such transformation or change and consequent impact of them on the social system and organisation in the subsequent history of Andhradesa.

Another important aspect that required concerted study and analysis in the history of Andhra relates to religious movements in the area during our period. Though in ancient Andhra, Buddhism, Jainism, and Brahmanical Hinduism flourished side by side, during the medieval period there was recognisable decline in the influence of the first two of them and growing dominance of Puranic Hinduism which developed different schools of philosophy and a number of rituals and practices. The main characteristic of the new movement centered round bhakti or devotion to personal god. Among the schools of Saivism that flourished in this period of Andhradesa, mention should be made of the Pasupatas,

the Kalamukhas, the Kapalikas and the Smartas and Aradhyasaivas. Much of the information available on them are largely from inscriptions and these sects deserve more attention from scholars than they have secured so far.

After the days of the Alvars and Ramanujacharya in Tamil country, Srivaishnavism also gained much popularity in Andhradesa and in the later medieval period Dualism propagated by Madhwacharya secured good foothold in the land, particularly after Narahari Tirtha. Thus the progress of these different schools of Hinduism in the Andhra country during the period have to be assessed and studied in detail.

A very important feature of the religious movements in the period was the growth of monasteries or mathas, each of which was an important organization devoting itself to the preservation of Hindu religion and its dissemination among its followers founded at different times by highly spiritual and evolved souls. Each of them was presided over by a regular succession of pontiffs. Among some important mathas mention may be made of the Golaki matha which was a saiva one with large number of branches concentrated in Andhradesa and distributed in many parts of Tamil Nadu. There were number of lineages associated with this. A comprehensive study of such religious institutions and persons connected with them is a hard felt need, though some work has been done on them by pioneering scholars.

Among the four south Indian languages Telugu occupies a very important place and has had a continuous history from the days of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. Though the history of Telugu literature has been worked upon by a number of eminent scholars it deserves to be studied under different heads like prose and poetical compositions, inscriptional compositions, religious literature, works on particular branches of learning like Music, etc., with particular reference to the factors that influenced major changes in the major types of literary production from period to period. It is equally important to study the spread of Telugu literature and learning beyond Andhradesa especially in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. It may be mentioned here that in the course of the Nayak rulers of Thanjavur and Madurai in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Telugu literature and learning received great encouragement and patronage in the Tamil country. In fact the later medieval period was really the golden age of the Telugu literature and learning.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the evolution of the Telugu alphabet from the earliest beginnings, its connection with the early Kannada alphabet and the stage and period at which they became separated would be a subject for good study.

Turning to the economic history during the mediæval period in the field of economic activity Andhradesa's role in South India was considerable. Though some good work has been done on the history of mediæval Andhradesa bearing on this aspect more work remains to be done with regard to the articles and methods of production, channels of distribution, prices, money economy rates of interest, weights and measures etc. The trade activities of Andhradesa, particularly those of the organised crafts guilds and mercantile corporations, both inland and foreign admit of more intensive study with the help of inscriptions and contemporary literature. In this connection the contemporary account of the Venetian traveller Marco Polo about the economic life in coastal Andhra is of considerable value.

One can not fail to mention the important place of Motupalli in the Krishna district (where there is scope and need for archaeological excavations), as an emporium of trade from where an Abhaya Sasana by Kakatiya Ganapati was issued for the foreign traders who visited the port fixing the sealing for the customs duty levied on them and assuring the good will of the government towards them. This tendency to encourage foreign merchants reminds one of what Krishnadeva Raya has said about the manner in which traders from a foreign country who visited his empire were to be treated. He says "A king should improve the harbours of his country and so encourage its commerce that horses, elephants, precious gems, sandalwood, pearls and other articles are freely imported into his country. He should arrange that the foreign sailors who land in his country on account of storms, illness and exhaustion are looked after in a manner suitable to their nationalities." Thus a continuous tradition of the ideas regarding the treatment of foreign merchants who came to India for trade purposes can be gleaned from the mediæval history of Andhradesa. This aspect of the trade policy of the governments of mediæval Andhra deserves detailed study.

Another aspect of the cultural history of Andhradesa which has not received sufficient attention at the hands of scholars is Andhra Art. Though the art of Nagarjunakonda, Amaravati, Elelwaram and a few other places have been studied in detail by art connoisseurs, the subsequent history of art in Andhradesa has not received that much of attention as in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. Andhradesa possesses a good

number of temples which illustrate the development of an important style of architecture which deserves more careful study. In fact the age of the later Eastern Chalukyas and the Kakatiyas, not to speak of Vijayanagar was an important one in the art history of the country. Temples like those at Hanumakonda, Warangal, Palampeta, Katachpur, Panagal; Tripurantakam, Draksharamam, Pillalamarri etc., deserve each a monograph deserving their place in the art history of Andhradesa. It is encouraging to find that there is a growing interest in the subject and there are coming out a few publications regarding the architecture of a few temples in some areas in Andhra.

An important point strikes me while dealing with the medieval history of Andhradesa and that is its contacts with the neighbouring linguistic and cultural zones like those of Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa and Tamil Nadu and the mutual contacts and influences of these regions on one another. After all they were in close touch all through politically and culturally and there were migrations of people and ideas as also organisational patterns from one region to another. This aspect also deserves careful and comparative study.

Thus the medieval period of the history of Andhradesa affords good scope for intensive research on the varied aspects of its fascinating history. It is possible to write a comprehensive history of Andhradesa. I hope that the multi-volume history of Andhradesa that is planned to be brought out by the Andhra University on the occasion of its Diamond Jubilee next year, of which our President Dr R Subrahmanyam is the chief editor, will contain a mine of information on the history of Andhradesa in all its phases and aspects.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS - MODERN HISTORY

Prof. SAROJINI REGANI

Mr. President Sir, Fellow Delegates, Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am deeply indebted to you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over the Modern History Section of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress. I am conscious of my many limitations but as I believe that your choice fell on me not because of my out-standing contributions in Andhra Historical Studies but because of the goodwill of the organisers of this Congress have towards me, I can look forward confidently to your co-operation in discharging the duties of the Chair.

A review of studies in Indian History cannot but reveal the fact that on the whole the history of South India has received much less attention than it deserved at the hands of the historians. Such of the history that has come out on Southern India in the modern period is mostly centered round the consolidation of the British power round the city of Madras, the Anglo-French rivalry and the ryotwari system of land revenue.

The nature of society, political and economic factors in India are such that historical studies have to be made on regional lines. An assessment of the history of various regions alone would lead to a greater comprehension of general Indian History and would be helpful in rediscovering our national identity.

It is erroneous to assume that a study of regional history would lead to parochialism and ill placed local chauvinism corroding the forces

of national integration. A great deal depends on how the regional historical studies are pursued from a narrow sectarian point of view, divorced from development outside its boundaries or in a broader perspective and in endeavouring to interpret the regional historical factors in relation to the totality of developments on the national front. Judging from the majority of the works produced so far, there are no grounds for apprehension about the undesirable effects of emphasising regional studies.

The integration of India into a single community, with an over all common political economy and commitment to one broader culture had never been a process that could be taken for granted. It is in this context that the regional studies and regional histories become relevant.

The aspirations of the scholars and enlightened citizens behind this Andhra Pradesh History Conference deserve our commendation in organising this conference.

Coming to the study of historical studies in Andhra Pradesh we find that several works have come out in the ancient and medieval history of Andhra. Compared to the output in the two earlier periods, the number of standard historical works that have come out in the modern period of Andhra History are few. May be the Andhras who had a large element of emotionalism and idealism ingrained in their nature sought consolation in the glory of their ancient past to escape from drab reality of British imperialism in India.

One finds that the historical studies pursued in the ancient and medieval periods are mostly confined to dynastic histories and are chronological describing in detail the wars waged by a particular monarch or a dynasty in the extension of their dominions.

While Salletore and Prof. T. V. Mahalingam have no doubt brought about extensive works on the social and economic conditions under Vijayanagar, a great deal of ground is yet to be covered in the social and economic history of ancient and medieval Andhra. The Medieval Deccan, Volume-II edited by Prof. K. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi deals more with the literary aspects of Medieval Deccan Society than with the socio-economic aspects.

Dr. Vaidehi Krishna Murthy, Dr. K. Sundaram, Sri Kambhampati Satyanarayana and the late Prof. R. Narasimha Rao have no doubt made some efforts to bring to light the social and economic history of

medieval Andhra, but an intensive study of the socio-economic study of the entire Andhra Pradesh right from the 11th Century to the 16th Century is yet to be made by scholars

Coming to the Modern period, we have to admit that the modern period in Indian History started with the founding of the supremacy of the British East India Company in Bengal and the final defeat of the French East India Company on the Coromandal coast. In this formative period of the British supremacy in India, the coastal Andhra Districts and the Nizam of Hyderabad played a vital part. While a few books on this subjects like Dr Yusuf Hussain's 'Nizam-ul Mulk Asaf Jah-I,' Sarojini Regani's 'Nizam-British Relations (1728-1857),' Nani Gopal Chawadani's 'British Relations with Hyderabad (1798-1843),' Lanka Sundaram's 'Revenue Administration of the Northern Sarkars' have come out on the above subject, we find that yet there is a plethora of material in Persian, Urdu, Marathi and Telugu available that will throw light on the social and economic life of the people during the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries. This is to be studied and interpreted on proper lines

On account of this rich cultural heritage, Andhra Pradesh requires scholars not only with a good knowledge of English and Telugu but scholars in history who are multi-linguists and who have a knowledge of Persian, Urdu, Kanarese, Marathi and French so that proper justice could be done to the various historical sources available in these languages. Then only a comprehensive history of Andhra Pradesh could be truly written. Hence I would like to appeal to the various Universities in Andhra Pradesh that they should seriously consider making compulsory the study of a language course in any one of the above languages, to the research students before they are formally registered for the Ph D Degree.

On account of the enlightened policy of the Government of India, historical research in the modern period has received a fillip in the recent times.

The Government of India in the Post-Independence period have undertaken three projects which were also adopted by the States for the writing on their respective State histories.

The Projects are;

(1) The compilation of a history of the Freedom Movement in Andhra, as well as the Freedom Movement in the various States (2)

Compilation of a State Directory of 'Who's Who in the Freedom Struggle'
(3) The Revision and rewriting of the Imperial Gazetteers under the title Indian Gazetteers including the Old District Gazetteers on an All India basis

The Government of Andhra Pradesh also implemented these Projects

The above projects are of great magnitude. It meant a review of the progress of British rule in the country from a new angle than that was hitherto adopted by the historians of British India. It involved an intensive search for materials from various sources ranging from Government Records, Jail Records, Dossiers of political Bodies and Revolutionary Associations, Newspaper Cuttings, Court Proceedings, personal interviews where oral history played a great part, study of Biographies of various political leaders and their correspondence. The documents available at the State and National Archives, the Green Books maintained by the Intelligence Department, their compilation of political, criminals, 'Who's Who' now deposited in the Archives proved to be of immense value in the compilation of the freedom struggle in Andhra Pradesh, and that of the Directory of the 'Who's Who in the Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh'.

The late Prof. K. Sajanlal's dedication towards the successful working of the above projects is to be remembered with gratitude by the Andhra public.

The four volumes of the History of the Freedom Struggle in Andhra have been ably edited by the veteran historian and scholar Padma Bhushan Prof. M. Venkatarangiah with a copious and critical introduction. These volumes constitute the basic source material for the political history of Andhra from 1857-1947.

The Telangana side of the volumes of the freedom struggle were also ably brought out by different editors in an able manner. The "Who's Who in Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh" is a project which includes the biographical sketches of the various people who had participated in the Freedom Struggle, risking their life, property and security for the sake of the motherland. The biographical sketches include briefly, the social and economic background of the freedom fighters. This project is meant mainly to draw the attention of our countrymen towards those thousands of people who go by the denomination of "the common man" and who courted arrest and risked their all for the sake of the motherland, and who, nevertheless, are too

humble to be mentioned by name in history yet, but for whose sacrifice the country would not have been free today. The project is meant as a token of the country's homage to those faceless millions who by their noble sacrifice, were responsible for India attaining independence. The three volumes of the 'Who's Who in Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh' are likely to come out by the end of 1977 and would no doubt provide rich source material to scholars studying the history of Modern Andhra Pradesh.

The Gazetteers of Andhra Pradesh have been ably edited by the scholar Vice-Chancellor of the Jawaharlal Nehru Technological University Sri M. V. Rajgopal.

These works primarily deal with the political history of Andhra Pradesh during the modern times. The writing of the socio-economic history of Modern Andhra in details yet to be taken up scholars.

It is an accepted fact that Masulipatam in the 17th Century was the important link that led to the establishment of the British commercial supremacy in India. Due to the occurrence of frequent famines in the Carnatic during the 17th and 18th Centuries the British East India Company with Musulipatam as the base, and with convenient intermediate stations at Cuttack, Hariharapur, Pipil and Balasore succeeded in opening up trade with Bengal which ultimately led to their acquiring political supremacy there. Thus Masulipatam was the place that laid the foundation stone for the British supremacy in India. Masulipatam throughout the 17th Century was the Chief Emporia of commerce both under the Dutch and the English East India Companies, and it was an important link connecting the Dutch trade between the Archipelago and India, and between India and the West.

On account of the cloth and the Kalam Karis of Masulipatam and other products of the coastal Andhra Districts, the English made huge profits in trade. In spite of this we find the English East India company by introducing restrictions on weaving and weavers and also by the introduction of a Monopoly system in trade gradually succeeded in killing the weavers guilds and other trade guilds in the coastal Andhra districts. By the end of the 18th Century, Masulipatam and the Coastal Andhra Districts lost their prominence on the economic map of India. Thus the 17th and 18th Centuries are of great significance in the economic history of Andhra. Yet we find that no attempts have been made by history scholars to study the effects of the Dutch and the British Monopoly systems on the trade guilds in Andhra. No attempts have been made to find out how the

artisan and Indian merchant families carrying on their traditional trade might have switched over to other occupations and how some entrepreneurs might have migrated to the up coming port of Fort St George in the South. We find that the majority of the 'Dubashis' at Madras during the 18th Century were Telugus. Evidently these might be from those families on the East coast who might have had trade relations with the British East India Company and who might have migrated to Madras, from coastal Andhra when there was a shift in the policy of the British East India Company.

A study on the above lines and a study of the demographic picture of Masulipatam during the 18th Century would definitely throw a new light on the economic history of not only Andhra Pradesh but also of the entire peninsular India.

The 19th Century is the period when on account of the ruinous effect of the industrial revolution on Indian economy, one sees India becoming totally agricultural. We also find the emergence of agricultural landlordism and the subsequent growth of serfdom. In this field also not enough work has been done in studying the full impact of this phenomenon on the Coastal towns of Andhra. I am aware that some pioneering work in this direction has been made by Sri Ramana Rao and Smt Sarada Raju but these, when compared to the rich source material available show that several more works have to come out in this particular direction.

Apart from the British policies another important factor that had deleterious effects on the economic life of peasantry, was the granting of hereditary Mansabs and Jaghirs by the later Mughal Viceroys in their respective dominions, and the practice of farming out land to contractors. All these measures were contrary to the traditional administrative set up that India had during the earlier times. The effects of those measures are also to be studied in their proper perspective.

The Andhra Pradesh State Archives, possess more than a lakh Moghul documents and 60 000 Marathi documents that throw light on the administration of the Deccan during the 17th and 18th Centuries. It lodges also the Revenue records of the British East India Company, the Nizam's Government, and that of the India Government. The Mackenzie manuscripts compiled in the Telugu language during the first quarter of the 19th Century are a treasure house of information on dynastic histories, local history. They also throw light on the agricultural methods, crops grown, the then prevailing rates of

exchange etc. A study of all these sources would definitely give a clear picture of the Pre-Industrial economy of the Andhra Country.

Coming to the subject of Social History, we find that even here, inspite of a treasure-house of source material in the shape of Kavyas, poetical works like Hamsavimsati, Sukasptati, the 'Shatakas', "Chatus", "Yakshaganas", historical biographies diaries, novels, and dramas, the total outturn is meagre and the research work undertaken is rather on traditional lines. In recent times, Dr J Mangamma seems to be one of the few scholars who struck a new path in her thematic approach. Suravarapu Pratapa Reddi's 'Andhrula Sanghike Charitra', Lakshmi Ranjanam and Balendu Shekarams 'Andhrula Charitra Samskruti', Kesava Narayana's "Political and Social Factors in Andhra 1900-1941", Vittal Rao's 'Education in Andhra under the British East India Company' do throw light on the social history of Andhra but certainly there is ample material for a further study of the social history of our state on a much wider canvas.

The Telugu people from the very early times revealed an open mind to receive the new winds of change blowing in the field of social reform. This readiness to receive new ideas and experiment which then pervaded all the sections of society, irrespective of the caste in which they were born. The responsiveness to social change and their eagerness to identify themselves as Indians first and then as Andhras is evident right from the time of the Satvahanas who played a significant role in the integration and Aryanisation of South India.

During the Freedom Movement, we find that the Telugus were the people who readily accepted the Gandhian leadership and plunged themselves in large numbers in the Freedom Struggle. Even to-day we find that this region is more responsive to radical thought than her sister regions in the South. This readiness to keep their minds open to the winds of change seems to be a peculiar trait of the Telugus which has not been properly studied and interpreted. This responsiveness of the Telugus to receive new ideas and their awareness of being Indians has gone a long way in making India truly modern.

Let us ardently hope that the project for the "Compilation" of a "Comprehensive History of Andhra Pradesh" under the able stewardship of Prof. R. Subrahmanyam would see that in the writing of the history of the region all the areas of study are duly brought out in their proper perspective. I am sure that the votaries of Clio in the Telugu country will definitely reorient their studies to meet the demands of the times in which we are living.

History is a continuous process. Of all the social sciences, in history alone, one finds that the past is the foundation for the present that holds a key to the future. Hence historian's approach should always be objective and unbiased. He must have the courage to stand by his convictions and should not hesitate to pass judgement on events in the light of ethical and moral values that transcend all regional and personal considerations.

I thank you for giving me a patient hearing. I am confident that our deliberations would awaken a fresh interest in Historical research in Andhra Pradesh and in presenting correct ideas and perspectives of history.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS - HISTORIOGRAPHY

Dr G S DIKSHIT

Professor of the History (*Emeritus*)
Karnataka University
Dharwar

Mr President, Fellow Delegates Ladies & Gentlemen,

I thank the Executive Council of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress for electing me as the President of the section on Historiography. I appreciate the honour conferred by this Congress on the historians of neighbouring states. I do hope that the remaining states of South India will follow this practice and thus pave the way for fruitful collaboration among South Indian Historians. In this address, I propose to deal with two topics [I] Historiography in Ancient and Medieval India, and [II] The value of literature produced outside Andhra as a source of Andhra History.

I Historiography in Ancient and Medieval India.

Sri R. C. Hazra, an eminent authority on our Puranas, echoes the prevalent view when he says that History in the modern sense of the term was unknown in ancient India in spite of the many-sided development of our civilisation and culture. But he concedes that historical tradition chiefly relating to dynastic lists and notable events in the lives of kings used to be handed down from generation to generation from the most ancient times.

As opposed to this view viz., that History in the modern sense was unknown in ancient India, we have in Kalhana a historian in the real sense of the term. His *Rajatarangini* fulfills all the expectations of any modern historian. Kalhana tells us that he based his work on a

eleven collections of Rajakathas. In addition to this, he made a thorough investigation of inscriptions, coins and even ancient monuments. He had verified the traditional dates by referring to grants, inscriptions and manuscripts. Of the manuscript sources he has used, *Nilamatapurne*—a *sthala-purana* on the origin and history of Kashmere, is extant. He reviews, as does a modern historian, the works of earlier historians. A predecessor of his by name Vuvruta had made a summary from the voluminous histories of the early kings of Kashmere. Kalhana objects to his history on stylistic grounds. Another predecessor, Kshemendra, had written a book called *Nripavali* on the same subject. Kalhana finds fault with him for being careless. Thus we have in *Rajatarangini* a concrete proof to show that at least in Kashmere upto the twelfth century A. D., there was a school of historiography in the modern sense of the term. But Kalhana had no successors either in Kashmere or elsewhere in India.

The question naturally arises as to the origin, development and decline of this school. Itihasa, the term for history, in the beginning in the Vedic times, meant a legend. Yaska's *Nirukta* (c. 500 B. C.) contains a few of such Vedic legends, for example, the legend of Devapi and Santhanu. Yaska also refers to the views of *Atihasikas* i. e. those familiar with the traditional legends and who may be regarded as the exponents of the itihasa literature. Unfortunately this Vedic literature relating to the legends has practically disappeared. Or more likely all those Vedic legends have been incorporated in the *Mahabharata*. Thus the earliest meaning of itihasa was legends about the past, same as the meaning which *purana* has now. In course of time, the conception itihasa seems to have undergone a revolutionary change. This changed meaning can be seen in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (c. 300 B. C.). Kautilya calls itihasa a Veda and its study is compulsory for the education of the prince. He says that itihasa comprised *purana* (traditional history), *itivritta* (records of the past), *akhyayika* [biography], *udaharana* or illustrative stories, *dharmaśāstra* and *arthashastra*. This was the second stage in the evolution of the concept of itihasa—a stage which resembles almost the modern conception of history as an all round record of the past.

Sometime after Kautilya, probably from the 1st century A. D., the Kavya style of literature encroached on what before was the domain of itihasa. It became the fashion to write itihasa as a Kavya. This diverted itihasa from its natural growth, for kavya had to be written in a particular style and was designed to produce an aesthetic effect on the reader, instead of merely being a matter of fact narrative. Thus aesthetic truth thrust historical truth into the background.

This development is likely to have been due to the successors of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana which were Itihasa turned into Kavyas par excellence. Between the times of Kautilya and the early centuries of the Christian era various experiments must have been made in writing itihasa as a Kavya until at last in the epics Ramayana and Mahabharata we see the finished product. The intermediate stages have apparently not left their traces for posterity. Kautilya thought that if the Prince learnt about the events of the past as they happened (itivritta) his education would be benefited. The author of the Ramayana, who put the incidents of the Ramayana into Kavya form calls it both a Kavya and a carita. The author's intention was not merely to tell a story but also to point a moral. He achieves it by placing before readers the personalities of ideal characters. That the story is historical makes the poet's instruction more effective, for the readers know that whatever is taught here was actually practised by persons and is not a mere precept. The basis of the Rama story is historical and whatever appears to go against the historical character of the work by being unbelievable or supernatural is almost certainly a later addition and probably necessitated by turning sober history into a grand epic. Similarly the Mahabharata which as history contains only the picture of a great internecine struggle was turned by the poet into a conflict of human motives and human attributes, besides being made into a repository of a comprehensive secular and religious learning.

Kalhana had to fall into this main stream of writing his history of Kashmere in the form of a Kavya. He says that he had his models in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. He was both a poet and a chronicler. It appears that his motive in writing the history of kings was not merely to record a story of mundane events, but to illustrate the unreality of human fortunes and the hazards facing crowned heads. All the same, Kalhana worked in the old tradition of itihasa and makes fewer concessions to the aesthetic demands of a Kavya.

Even before Kalhana's time (12th century) another stage in the evolution of itihasa had been reached. In this stage, the object of the poet in writing a historical Kavya is not so much educational as propagandist. The poet wants to justify the activities of his patron, especially his accession to the throne for which he had no legitimate claim. We owe the elucidation of this final stage in the history of our historical Kavyas to Prof. V. S. Pathak. In his *Ancient Historians of India* (1966), he has analysed a number of such Kavyas and come to this conclusion. He has also made another interesting discovery viz, that from the Vedic times down to medieval times, most of the historians belonged to the family of the Bhargavas. Another modern scholar, who has supported

Prof Pathak's views is Prof A K Warder of the University of Toronto In 1972, he wrote a work called *An Introduction to Indian Historiography* In this work, after supporting Prof Pathak's views on the final stage of the Historical Kavyas, he has traced the growth of historical writing in all the regions of India Hundreds of Vamsavalis, Charitas, sthalapuranas Bakhars, Karfiyats etc, in Sanskrit and in the regional languages of India, are brought together here for the first time to justify his contention that historiography has been practised all over India from Vedic times down to our own times Dr N Venkataramanayya the first President of this Congress was the first to describe all such sources for the history of Vijayanagara history in his monumental Introduction to *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*

To understand Prof Pathak's and Prof Warder's conclusions regarding the final stage in the evolution of our historical kavyas viz , the propagandist stage, I will take three illustrations viz, the works of Bana, Bilhana and Vamana Bana belongs to the Bhargava school His attempt is not to write the history of Harsha but to justify Harsha's accession to the throne Harsha was the second son of his father and hence had no claim to be king But the poet wants us to believe that Goddess Fortune had told Pushyabhuti, the ancestor of Harsha that a ruler called Harsha would be born in his line and that she viz , Fortune would be his attendant In both historical and other types of kavyas, in the end, the hero is united with a woman and this symbolises fortune combining with the hero In the *Harsha-carita* when Harsha is united with his sister Rajyasri in the Vindhya mountain, Harsha literally finds his Rajyasri or the fortune of his kingdom Those who do not know the technique of historical Kavyas wrongly think that the *Harsha carita* stops abruptly But if we know that the object of Bana was not to write a history of Harsha, but to justify his becoming an emperor, we will realise that as a Kavya, the story is complete

Bilhana's *Vikramankadeva Carita* is another historical Kavya It was written to justify Vikramaditya VI's accession to the throne Bilhana like Bana was a Bhargava Just like Harsha, Vikramaditya was the second son and hence had no claim to the throne But he got the throne and his court - poet had to justify it, in the same way as Bana had done In Bilhana's account, the eldest son Somesvara II was an arrogant tyrant God appeared to Vikramaditya in his dream and told him to put down the evil doer Vikramaditya had to carry out God's will Thus the poet turns an ambitious young man into the hero of a Kavya But when his own younger brother, Jayasimha rebels against the hero, he was put down, though he was doing nothing other than what Vikramaditya himself had done The story ends like all Kavyas with the

union of Vikramaditya with Chandralekha, a Silahara princess, in a Swayamvara

Vamana Bhatta Bana's *Vema - Bhupala - Carita* or *Viranarayana - Carita* is a biography of his patron, Peda Komati Vema. The author calls himself Abhinava Bana, closely follows the model of *Harsha Carita* in style. He was a Bhargava of the Vatsa line exactly as Bana was and thus felt that he had a hereditary claim to write a historical Kavya. He was a disciple of Vidyaranya and was deeply attached to Vijayanagara. One of his dramas was enacted before God Virupaksha in Pampakshetra. He wrote another drama in Vijayanagara under the patronage of the Prime Minister Lakkanna dandesa. Both these dramas would be useful for a study of the social life in Vijayanagara.

Coming back to his historical Kavya, the late shri M. S. Sarma says that it is historically unimportant. The author's intention was not to write history, but to justify the pretensions of his patron Peda Komati Vema. The poet describes the ancestors of his hero and particularly the romantic marriage of Prolaya Vema to Anantamba, a princess of the Rashtrakuta family of Vikramasimhapura (modern Nellore), the birth of their sons, particularly Maca and the hero's direct descent from the latter. Since Kataya Vema had disputed Peda Komati Vema's claim to the throne, the author takes all the trouble to justify it. After securing the throne, Vema proceeds on a successful digvijaya, and thereby increases his claim by valour. Thus in the eyes of his contemporaries and posterity, Peda Komati Vema is made to appear by his court poet as a legitimate ruler.

II. LITERATURE AS A SOURCE OF SOCIAL HISTORY

Having traced the history of the concept of *itihasa*, I now turn to the second topic viz, social history in Kavyas. Though the historical Kavyas are not very useful as political history, still they and all literary Kavyas which can be dated are useful for depicting the condition of the people. I will illustrate this statement with the help of two works which were written outside Andhra, but which throw light on conditions of the people in Andhra.

The first of these works is *Kuvalayamala* of Udyotanasuri. Udyotana wrote his work in Prakrit in Rajasthan. In 778 A. D. It is a Jaina religious classic. The author is a moralist out to teach lessons in good behaviour by his stories. The hero is Kuvalayachandra and he is

in love with a princess called Kuvalayamala who lived in Vijayapuri, the former Nagarjunakonda, the capital of the Ikshvakus. The excavations conducted here by our President, Dr R Subrahmanyam, have laid bare among other things what has been called a University and the wharfs. Vijayapuri must have been full of students and merchants. The life they led could not have been clear to us but for its description in *Kuvalayamala*. It may be said that Vijayapuri flourished in the third century A.D. How can its description in a work of the eighth century A.D. be taken as a true one? It is quite possible that the *Kuvalayamala*, so far as its description of Vijayapuri is concerned followed another work which was contemporary. Such instances are not unknown. For example, we are told that *Kridabhirama* generally attributed to Srinadha is based on *Premabhirama* written in Sanskrit by Ravipati Tripurantaka who lived in the Kakatiya period. According to Prof D Venkatavadhani, the description of life in Warangal found in *Kridabhirama* belongs to the Kakatiya times as it was taken from *Premabhirama*. On the same analogy, we may take the description of Vijayapuri in *Kuvalayamala* as being based on a contemporary work. However we may note that Udyotana made a mistake about its location. He says that it was on the East coast. This is pardonable in an author who was living so far away in Rajastan. Though not on the sea, Nagarjunakonda, in those days, was connected with the sea by a navigable river.

Udyotana gives an elaborate description of Vijayapuri, of the talks in the streets among women, gossip in boy's hostels, dialogues between traders, an account of its buildings etc. There is the description of a Mahantam Madham or a big educational institution which included students from Lata, Karnataka, Malava, Kanujja, Maharashtra, Saurashtra, Srikantha, i.e., Sthaneshvara and Sindhu. The courses of study comprised grammar, Buddhism, Sankhya, Nyaya, Anakanta or Jainism and Lokayata or Charvaka philosophy. The students of the Vedas are caricatured. It appears that they were fat with sturdy bodies and developed muscles which they got by very tough exercises. They lived a care-free life and were of violent dispositions and of loose morals.

We have a specimen of eighteen ~~desi~~ dialects spoken in (1) The region of Godavari (2) Madhyadesa (3) Magadha (4) Antardvedi [Gangayamuna doab] (5) Kira [Kangram] (6) Dacca (7) Sindhu (8) Maru (9) Gujarat (10) Lata (11) Malava (12) Karnataka (13) Tapti (14) Kosala (15) Maharashtra (16) Andhra (17) Khasa (18) Parasa [Persia]. These different idioms of speech were spoken by the shopkeepers in the market place of Vijayapuri which was thus a big

cosmopolitan town where merchants from all over India and even outside displayed thier goods

The second work from which one can gather plenty of information about the Andhra country and its people is *Sivatatva Chintamani*, a work in Kannada written by Lakkanna Dandesa, the Prime Minister of Devaraya II. He is likely to have written it in about 1450 A D. In his work, which is history of his sect, Virasaivism, there is a chapter on the Saiva devotees of his time in all parts of South India, including Andhra. That he could get full information about Sivabhaktas in the Vijayanagara empire is no wonder because he was the Prime Minister of that empire. But how could he get similar information about those parts of Andhra which were outside that empire and which were ruled by the Velama and the Reddis kings. The explanation is simple. No doubt the rulers fought among themselves, but they also competed with one another to attract men of letters and men of religion, who moved about 'freely from court to court. Srinadha was honoured everywhere. Vamana was also in Vijayanagara. He enjoyed the patronage of Lakkanna Dandesa. Thus Lakkanna was in touch with developments in Andhra through these peripatetic scholars and devotees.

He begins his account of the Sivabhaktas of Andhra appropriately with Srisaillam, which was their greatest abode. Its eastern door was Tripurantakam, southern door was Mahajyoti Siddhavattam. Western door was Anavurapur or Afampur and northern door was Mahesvara. In the centre was Malikarjuna. Here within fortyeight yojanas every stone was a linga, every plant was a patri plant (sacred to Siva), all water was Ganga and all men were rishis. Everywhere there were ashramas, Vedaghosha, tarkagoshti and rishikula. In the centre of it all was Sivasamaya Sarvabhauma Bhikshavrittraya. From Srisaillam, Lakkanna proceeds north and takes stock of the bhaktas in Villuru, Panugai, Kukatapalli, Ganapura, Devarkonda, Rajakonda, Pratapaqiri, Orungallu and Pattesvara all in Telangana. From there he takes us to Mukhalinga in Oddiyadesa, where there was the temple of Madhukesvara and then comes south along the east coast. Kesavikote, Potnuru, Rajamahendravararam and then he takes us to Bijnawada where lived one Rasapindikura Chennabhakta, then to

Kondavidu, where ruled Vema Reddi, Vinukonda, Marakapura, Maddipanta, Nallur [Nellore], Gavur and Kariyedi, Udayagiri, Bhuvana-varika, Santeyuru, Kandukuru, Sirigiri and Kottapalli. Then he turns west to Rayalasima, wherein he covers Penugonda, Bukkarayasa-mudra, Gutti [called Jagatapagutti], Pamidi, Rayadurga [and Koleya-kere. Then he enters Karnataka and Tamilnadu. In all these places, he gives the names of the Sivabhaktas and if they had performed miracles their account also is given. For example, in Srisailem in the Virabhadra temple the nose of the god was some-how broken. Five bhaktas came forward to sacrifice their lives and after their sacrifice, the nose was miraculously restored. In Rajakonda was one Annabhakta. He was formerly a Dasa or a Vaishnava and had Mudras all over his body like all Vaishnavas. Overnight, the Mudras disappeared and he became a Sivabhakta. Then that year the tank of the town got dry as the rains failed. The Dasas said it was because Annabhakta had changed his sect. Then Annabhakta prayed god and brought rain. In Kariyede, near Udayagiri there was a devotee called Mummadi. When a Jangama or a priest visited his house, he treated him hospitably and presented him with a cloth. The priest said he did not want the cloth, he wanted instead a part of the Sadi which Mummadi's wife was wearing. Mummadi tore his wife's Sadi and gave the priest a part of it, as present. When the Jangama was walking in the street with this torn part of the Sadi in his hands, he was stopped by one Addiperma, who said that the Devagiri Sadi which the priest was carrying belonged to his wife and he had kept it as mortgage with Mummadi. Then he borrowed money from another individual and went to Mummadi and asked him to take the principal and the interest and give him back his wife's Sadi. Mummadi said, he would himself give his debt or the cost of the Sadi, But the debtor said no, he wanted the Sadi and nothing else. Mummadi's wife sprinkled the *Padodaka* of the priest on the torn Sadi and the original Sadi came back complete as before.

All these Sivabhaktas were more or less contemporaries of Lakkanna. But he also mentions such bhaktas who lived before his time in Andhra. I may mention here a miracle which was performed by one Rechayya in the capital of the Velanadu Chola. In this town the antvejas killed a bull. The bhaktas in the town were so enraged

at this crime that they wanted to kill the antyajas. But Rechayya said that this rule of tit for tat was wrong and a better thing would be to bring back the bull to life and he did it. Leaving aside the miraculous part of the story, the rest has a familiar ring even in the twentieth century. These bhaktas come from the weaker sections of society. We have teachers, stone-workers, glassmakers, masons and weavers. But it is said about them that though they were low in caste, they were high in devotion and high in caste. People accepted this position. Somanna of Rajamahendravaram, himself a vipra, declared that a Sivabhakta alone was a Kulaja or high caste-man.

What I have attempted in the first part is to mark certain stages in the evolution of writing history in ancient and medieval India which ultimately resulted in the writing of a number of historical Kavyas. In the second part I have tried to show that from Kavyas whether historical or not it is possible to extract material for the life of the people. For enabling me to make this attempt, I thank the organisers of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS - LOCAL HISTORY

T SATYANARAYANA MURTHI

Mr President Sir, Fellow Delegates, Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I deem it a great honour to have been called upon to preside over the Local History Section of the present session. I am indeed very grateful to the members of the Congress and its executive committee for this honour. However I realise that I owe this honour to the affection in which my colleagues have held me. I am conscious of my limitations and accept this office with great humility. I earnestly seek your co-operation in making the deliberations of the Local History Section a success.

In a true sense, History is a struggle of man to reach beyond himself to approximate to the ideal of human concord and hence a true historian should have a universal perspective. He has to feel that the world is a true home of man and that historical writing is a means of widening man's mental horizon for the realisation of universal ends. Yet one should become aware of the fact that the world is still divided into nations which have identities of their own and that a nation's persistent identity is the cause of its history which, no doubt, gains added significance in a larger setting.

India is a strange country with peculiar institutions of its own and one of its outstanding characteristics is 'unity in diversity.' From a geographical point of view India is a sub-continent. The snow clad Himalayas on the northern border, hot deserts in Rajasthan, tropical heat in the South, dense forests along the western coast and in central India and the great Gangetic and other river systems complete its sub-conti-

ment picture. There is little in common, to outward appearance, between a Kashmiri and a Tamilian. They differ in race, physical features, food habits, clothing and, of course, language. The people of different regions have their distinctive features which have been maintained for thousands of years, yet, they have been throughout these ages distinctively Indian with the same national heritage and the same set of moral and mental qualities. There has been something living and dynamic about this heritage which showed itself in ways of living and a philosophical attitude to life and its problems. The foreign influences poured in were absorbed. This synthetic and unifying feature of Indian culture was not something imposed from outside; it was something deeper and within its fold every variety was tolerated and even encouraged. Here lies the basis of diversity in Indian way of life from which emerges the regional and local traditions. In this sense Local History can be considered as nothing but a comprehensive microscopic study of Indian's past and thereby it is a macroscopic study of the past of an integral part of India. In India, thus, Local History has a special significance.

Much of Indian History has been hitherto written from above concentrating upon a wide frame. Writing history from below may now help us to discover the real grass roots of our institutions and a more comprehensive history of India may emerge out of this effort. It can be a base for building up a pyramidal structure of our history. The vastness of India, its diversities and distinct regional or local developments make regional and local researches imperative for constructing an integrated history of India. Truly speaking, the history of India cannot be complete without the study of regional and local developments and incorporation of those studies in the main currents of Indian history. The work on a regional and local history will project the true picture of our Country in its entirety. The study of currents and cross-currents will be fully understood and every issue will be presented in its proper setting. Besides, for the reduction of subjective overtones and distortions and to promote objective understanding of History, study of Local History is of vital importance. Hence the historians engaged in writing the history of our country will not be able to do full justice to the subject unless they have at their command the results of spade work done in various areas. In the present state of inadequate local research the history of India contains a disproportionately large account of certain areas on which extensive research work has already been done with only casual references to the developments in other areas.

Some sort of local patriotism need not be decried when it does not harm the larger interest of the Nation. For example, the local

patriotism of Alluri Seetharamaraju or Jagannadha Payekarao was a laudable ideal but not antithesis of nationalism.

For a proper and comprehensive appraisal of the Indian political scene in the past it is necessary to take into account many local dynasties also which lived in an autonomous life of their own. The nature of central control varied according to circumstances and situations, there was complete and direct control in some areas, indirect control in others and overlordship in still others. Research in Local History could help a great deal in the understanding of such complex problems. For instance, expansion of the Qutub Shahi Empire into the Circar districts can be properly traced only when the history of the local ruling dynasties is studied in detail. Unfortunately, the works hitherto published on the history of the Qutub Shahis have not paid sufficient attention to this aspect.

The study of various regional and local economic problems in their historical setting will widen the horizon of Indian History and make its understanding wholesome, broadbased and complete. These studies may unfold some unknown factors and elucidate the little known ones which have exercised powerful influence on Indian Economy. The rural problems of our State were so diverse that both zamindari and ryotwari systems existed in one district or even one taluq. One need not emphasise the need of studying the revenue systems, techniques of agricultural production, means and relations of production, cottage industries and handicrafts in detail in their historical setting. It is obvious that such studies will have to be mostly local and only, when considerable spade work has been done in this direction, we can take a synoptic view of the development in the country as a whole.

For instance, research on the towns like Musulipatnam, Visakhapatnam, Bhimunipatnam, Kakinada and Narasapuram which have been sea-ports for centuries may throw significant light on the economic life of Andhra Pradesh. We do not till now sufficiently know what were their hinterlands, what kind of indigenous industries flourished therein, how and when they came to an end, and what was the impact of these ports on the economic and political changes of the times and adjacent regions.

Local History will enable us to understand the growth of variety of social customs, manners and traditions of our people, the nature of agrarian society more fully and the problem of the breakdown of traditional village society in some depth. While the tendency to explain major social economic and political changes in terms of

castes and communities is fraught with dangers, studies of the attitudes of various local groups to different kinds of problems do contribute to an understanding of Indian society as a whole.

Our country has, because of its large size, variety of environment and fusion of various races seen the emergence of local cultural traditions. Regional and local trends in art, literature, and architecture continued to be strengthened since ancient times and in a way cultural differences between Indians even in the same province, district or city are as wide as physical differences between the various parts of the country. Andhra Pradesh is incredibly rich in these local cultural traditions. But enough attention has not yet been paid to the study of these cultural traditions, especially in the field of folklore which is a vanishing wealth and a veritable treasure-house of information for posterity.

Methodology of Historical writing and techniques of historical investigation have undergone a radical change in recent times. The scholars who are engaged in writing local histories may adopt them. But the tendency to attach too much importance to technical subtleties may be avoided. In recent times a new line of investigation that combines anthropological method with that of archaeology has been pursued by some eminent scholars through which history is to be seen displayed in full detail in the Villages of India provided one has the vision and insight required to read that history. This method will help us to make a careful study of the historical background of the village as well as urban communities.

Writing of local history requires not only intimate touch with the concerned area but also a comprehensive grasp of the contemporary history. I feel it is necessary to observe that no historical problem, however limited in scope, should be studied piecemeal or in isolation. Let it be studied with all thoroughness. But our attention should be directed towards ascertaining what bearing it had on other areas, problems or phases of the country's history.

The main difficulty in constructing local history at present is lack of sufficient authentic source material. Local legends are full of myth and hence special care has to be taken to separate the myth from the fact. On the otherhand, the material collected by the British officials, which cannot be considered fully authentic and unbiased, mainly deals with the relations between the administrators and the leaders of Indian States and communities. Exclusive dependence on such material gives a distorted picture of India. To cite an example,

the history of a district which claims to have dealt with the contacts between the British power and "the elite among the leading communities" describes the Malrajas Zamindars of Narasaraopet as Telagas Instead of Padmanayaka Velamas, misspells Komati as 'Komarti', mentions Hakims as district officers and describes the ryot as "a title for one of the vocal and influential few one of the gramarayalu one of the top village officers such as Headman, Karanam or Munsiff and was often all of these rolled into one person" Such expressions are prone to be committed in the absence of sufficient authentic informative material This gap has to be filled in as early as possible by way of collecting reliable source material. In this respect, the untiring efforts of the research scholars and the services of the officers of the Department of Archaeology and Museums deserve special mention But as more number of people are to be involved in this colossal task, and in view of the need of promoting keen interest among the local people in the history of their areas it would be a proper step to encourage formation of historical societies in important villages and cities under the auspices of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress I hope this session will endorse my humble suggestion

Before concluding my address I once again express my sincere gratitude to the organisers of this conference for giving me this opportunity and I thank all scholars present for having given me a patient hearing

SIRITHANA OF THE NASIK RECORD OF PULOMAVI'S REIGN

Dr B S L, HANUMANTHA RAO

The Nasik inscription of Vasistiputra Pulomavi's 19th regnal year is of great importance for the history of his father Gautamiputra Satakarni's reign. More famous as the inscription of Gautami Balasri, the record gives a graphic description of Gautamiputra's empire. In particular, it enumerates a number of hills of which Satakarni is described as the lord. The hills are¹ *vijha chavata paricata sahya kanhagiri muca sirithana malaya maheda sethagiri cakora*. If the words are Sanskritised the hills are Vindhya Chachavat, Pariyatra, Sahya, Krsnagiri, Martya, Srustana, Malaya, Mahendra, Srestagiri, Cakora. Evidently the hills should have dotted the empire of Gautamiputra and it is generally believed that their identification and location would indicate the size and grandeur of his empire.

Commenting on the above hills, Dr. K. Gopalachari remarked "Even so the extent of his kingdom is indicated by the mountains of which he is said to have been the lord — the western and eastern portions of the Vindhya range (*Vijha* and *Paricata*) the Satpura hills extending through the middle of Berar nearly into West Bengal (*acavata*), the northern and southern portions of the Western Ghats (*Sahya* and *Malaya*).

respectively." He further added that "there is no epigraphic evidence to show that Gautamiputra's sway extended over Andhradesa"²

From the above statements, it is clear that Dr. Gopalachari who held strongly the view that Andhradesa was not included in Gautamiputra's empire was content with identifying all the hills mentioned in the Nasik record with the Western and Eastern fringes of the Vindhya and with some ranges in the Western Ghats. In his opinion, none of the above hills was identical with any one among the Eastern Ghats in Andhradesa.

But on the strength of abundant numismatic evidence, Dr. M. Ramarao argued that Andhradesa was actually included in Gautamiputra's empire.³ In the recent excavations in the Nagarjunakonda valley not only coins but also coin moulds of Gautamiputra were discovered.⁴ The discovery is significant as it indicated the existence of Satavahana mint in the locality and that was possible only when the region was well within the empire. This supports the view that Andhradesa was included in Gautamiputra's empire and hence there is no need for looking to the Vindhyan regions only to locate the hills mentioned in the Nasik inscription. In fact, Mahendra is no other than the well known Mahendragiri in the Visakhapattanam district. It is the northern most range of the Eastern Ghats and at least the hills grouped with it might be identical with some of the hills in Andhradesa.

This article is an attempt at the identification of some of the hills especially Sirithana, Setagiri and Malaya.

Sirithana

Professors M. Ramarao⁵ and G. V. Rao⁶ identified Sirithana with Srisailem, the famous Saivite Ksetra in the Kurnool district. But the identification is not satisfactory. Srisailem is also known in literature as Sriparvata and even as more Parvata. ~~Some~~ where it is called Sirithana or Sristhana.

On the otherhand Sīrithana appears to be a variant of the word Dhanyakataka. In inscriptions and literature, we come across several variants of the word Dhanyakataka. In early inscriptions, we have the forms Dhamnakada⁷ and Dhamnakadaka⁸. One inscription⁹ calls it simply as Dhana. The Buddhist literature used the honorific suffix Sri and the *Manjusri Mulakalpa* referred to the place as Sīrī Dhanyakataka. Some of the later Buddhist works know the place simply as Sīrī Dhanya. The great authority on Vajrayana of the 10th century quotes in his *Sekoddesatīka* an ancient tradition that Mantrayana was originally delivered at Sīrīdhanya the land of Dharma¹⁰. The passage read

Sīrīdhanye nīyata mantranayadesanasthane

and

tathā mantranayaprokta

Sīrīdhanye dharmadesana

In the Tibetan traditions also we find the word Sīrī Dhanyakataka. One Tibetan historian Golso-tsa-bagzön nupal, the author of *Deb-ther sron-Po* uses the word Sīrīsthana, evidently for Sīrī Dhanya. He says that Acarya Nagarjuna was born to the west of Sīrīsthana and to the east of Sīrīparvata in the town of Punyavati¹¹.

From the above account it is clear that Dhanyakataka was also known during the heyday of Buddhism simply as Sīrīdhanya or Sīrīsthana. It seems therefore reasonable to conclude that Sīrīsthana of the Nasik record is only the Prakrit form of Sīrīsthana or Sīrīdhanya. The word Sīrīsthana means "The Abode of Wealth", which is almost the same as the meaning of the word Dhanakataka (City of Wealth). From inscriptions we gather that the form Dhanakataka (with short *dha*) is earlier than Dhanyakataka (with long *dha*). The latter word means "The City of Grain".

The only objection to the above identification is that the Nasik record lists Sīrīsthana among hills where as Sīrīdhanya or

Dhanyakataka was only a city. But this objection can be overcome in the light of the Buddhist literature where Dhanyakataka is closely associated with a hill. Dhanyakataka was the strong hold of the Purvasalla¹ branch of the Outyaka and the monastery at the place was known as Purvasallavihara. It is therefore clear that Dhanyakataka was also known as Purvasalla. The Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, who studied the *Abhidharma* for some time at Dhanyakataka, wrote about the Purvasallavihara and that to the west of *Tou-chi-ho* there was a mountain cliff in which the *Vajrapara Dharmas* was recited¹¹. The Ceylonese Buddhist history called the *Vajrapara Samadhi* refers to some Vajrayana tenets and attributes them to the Buddhist monks known as *Vajraparavata samadhi*¹². It is not possible to identify this Vajraparavata with the '*Vajrapara, mudi*' of Yuan Chwang. Finally it can be concluded that the 'Purvasalla of local inscriptions', '*Vajraparavata*' of Yuan Chwang and '*Vajraparavata*' of the Ceylonese Records appear to be one and the same.

The present day town of Amaravati which actually stands on the ancient Buddhist site of Dhanyakataka is not far removed from hills. Especially the hill known today by the name Vaikunthapuram is just one and a half mile to the east of Amaravati. It has a natural cavern which is presently housing Lord Venkateswara. The hill and its surroundings have yielded – though in a small way – traces of early Buddhist settlement and further investigation may prove more fruitful. The hill of Vaikunthapuram may therefore answer very well the descriptions of Purvasalla and Vajraparavata.

Sethagiri

One of the inscriptions¹³ recovered by recent excavations at Nagarjunakonda mentions Sethagiri. The inscription records that Sivasepha, a general of Abhira Vasusena installed the image of Astabhuja-Narayana in a shrine on Sethagiri. The inscription is found near the place popularly known as Siddhu-~~giri~~ and it may be identical with Sethagiri itself. It is there-

fore clear from the inscription that Sethagiri was in the neighbourhood of Sriparvata-Nagarjunakonda.

The Abhira record gives the impression that Sivasepha only rebuilt or renovated the temple of Sethagiri. This may be taken to indicate that the place was an old Ksetra probably of the Brahmanists like the numerous ksetras mentioned in the inscriptions¹⁶ of the Ksaharata prince Usavadata. Sethagiri could find place in the list of prominent hills probably because of its popularity as a Ksetra at the time of the composition of the Nasik inscription.

Incidentally it may be noted that the Nasik record does not mention Sriparvata and the only reason for it might be that Sriparvata did not yet become famous as a centre of Buddhism. The Chinese traditions¹⁷ would have us believe that it was Sri Yajna Satakarni, one of the late successors of Gautamiputra who built the Mahacaitya and Mahavihara at Sriparvata for Acarya Nagarjuna. There is epigraphical evidence which establishes the association of the Later Satavahanas with the Buddhist institutions of Nagarjunakonda.¹⁸ Nagarjuna selected the site for his Mahavihara by the side of Sethagiri probably because it was already a popular place of pilgrimage.

Malaya

Finally the hill Malaya grouped with Sirithana and Sethagiri might also be one of the ranges of the Eastern Ghats, known locally in the Guntur district as Nallamalas. In this connection it may be recalled that the Visnukundin king Madhavavarman had the title "*Trikuta Malayadhipa*" (Lord of Trikota and Malaya)¹⁹ where as Kandara of the Anandagotra kings took the title "*Trikuta parvata pati* (Lord of the hill Trikota).²⁰ Earlier writers like Dr. Gopalachari thought that these hills and especially their association "force us to look for both in the west".²¹ The Anandagotra kings ruled over a small kingdom consisting of only two *Janapadas* that roughly corresponded to the Guntur district. It is highly improbable that such a local dynasty with

extremely limited sway boasted to have been the lords of a lofty hill in Western Decan. As Dr Gopalachari himself admits "Any three peaked hill might have been called Trikutuparvata"²² and B V Krishna Rao seems correct in identifying it with Kotappakonda near Narasaraopet²³. If Trikuta and Malaya of the Visnukundin records must be located in the neighbourhood of the Trikutuparvata of the Anandagotra kings and it may be the same as the Malaya of the Nasik record because it was — as said before — grouped with Sirithana and Sethagiri of the region.

Thus, the list of hills given by the Nasik record contains undoubtedly a few of the Eastern Ghats. Assuming that those hills indicate the extent of Gautamiputra's empire — as Dr Gopalachari did, we may conclude that the Nasik record supports the numismatic evidence as to inclusion of Andhradesa within that empire.

NOTES

- 1 D C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp 176-200, *Luder's List* No 1123
- 2 *Early History of the Andhra Country* (1976) p 67
3. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*
- 4 *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1956-58, p 34
- 5 *Studies in the Early History of Andhradesa*
- 6 Yashwanth (ed), *Early History of Decan*
- 7 *Ancient India*, 1967, p 175
- 8 *E I*, xv, No 5, p '63
- 9 *Luder's List* No 1'43
- 10 Quoted by L M Joshi, *The Mahabodhi*, vol 75, parts 1 & 2, p 44
11. *Blue Annals*, I, p 37
- 12 *E I*, xxiv, pp 152-158, *E I*, xx, No.
- 13 T Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, ii, p 215.
14. L M Joshi, *Op cit*
- 15 *E I* xxxiv, pp 197-204
- 16 *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 164-165.
- 17 K A Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*.
- 18 *E I* xxxvi, pp 274 ff
- 19 *Ipur Plates*, 2nd set, *E I* viii, pp 143 ff
- 20 *S I I*, vi, Nos 594 and 595
- 21 *Op Cit*
- 22 *Ibid*
- 23 *History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, pp. 337 and 420.

Even during medieval times, we learn from inscriptions, that the god on the hill was known as Kutesvara, the Lord of Peaks, *S. I. I.*, iv, Nos 915 and 919.

THE POLAMURU PLATES OF MADHAVAVARMAN - A REVIEW*

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The Polamuru copper plate grant of the Vishnukundin king Madhavavarman¹ has been hitherto considered very important in the construction of the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty. It was discovered in 1913, along with the another copper plate inscription that belonged to the Eastern Chalukyan king Jayasimhavallabha² The two grants, very interestingly, record gifts of the same village, to members of a single family. A comparison of the donees and their dynastic succession would illustrate the point

The grant of

Madhavavarman

1. Rudrasarman of Gautamagotra

(*Veda-Vedamgaviduh*)

|

2. Damasarman

(*Sva-pitu-radhika-gun-
adhyasita-tanuh*)

|

3 Siva sarman

The grant of Jayasimha
Vallabha

1. Damasarman

(*Veda-Vedamgaviduh*)

|

2. Siva sarman

(*Sva-pitu-radhika Gun-
adhyasita tanuh*)

|

3. Rudrasarman of Gautama
gotra

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(*Taittiriya Sabrahma-
charinah , Veda.chatushtaya-
samamnat avadat-*

*Veda-dvaya-śān-kṛita-sān-
īaya, śva-karman anushtāna
paraya and Pūrṇāgraharika*

*anānaya , śva-karm-anush-
tānaparaya.*

Rudrasarman, the donee of the Chalukyan grant was held to be the son of Sivasarman, the donee of the Vishnukundin grant.³ The term *Pūrṇāgraharika*, in the Eastern Chalukyan grant is particularly interesting, as it indicates the mere restoration of the *agrahara* and involves such relationship between the two donees.

On the basis of this relationship of the donees, B. V. Krishna Rao supposed that, "the two Polamuru grants clearly show that the Vishnukundins preceded the Eastern Chalukyas in the sovereignty of Andhradesa. Now that the two events, namely, the invasion of Pulakesin II and the consequent overthrow of Vishnukundin sovereignty in Andhradesa are placed in around 611 A.D., it seems probable that the death of Madhavavarman III, the last king of the Vishnukundins, occurred about the same time."⁴

The Polamuru grant of Madhavavarman traces the family genealogy for three generations, as follows :

<i>Maharaja</i>	Vikramahendra
<i>Maharaja</i>	Govindavarman
<i>Maharaja</i>	Madhavavarman

The pedigree tallies with that mentioned in the Ipuru (I set)⁵ and carries back the genealogy, by one more generation. B. V. Krishna Rao supposed that the name Vikramahendra was "plainly a variant of Vikramendra" and identified him with the Vikramendra bhattaraka Varman II, the donor of the Chikkulla plates.⁶ The Polamuru grant was dated in the 48th regnal year of the king, on the eve of a solar eclipse in the month of *Phal-*

guna, with no reference to any known era. K. V. Lakshmana Rao⁷ calculated the date on astronomical grounds and also with reference to known historical facts, as A. D. 594. He took the Madhavavarman, of the Polamuru plates as the last king of the family, defeated and dethroned by Pulakesin II around A.D. 611. The scheme was followed by later writers like B. V. Krishna Rao and R. Subba Rao and they prepared the genealogy and chronology as follows⁸

Madhavavarman
(c. A. D. 420-455)

Devavarman (c. A. D. 455-458)	Vikramendravarman I (c. A. D. 488-493)
Madhavavarman II (c. A. D. 458-488)	Indra (bhattaraka) Varman (c. A. D. 500-530)
	Vikramendia (Bhattaraka) Varman II (c. A. D. 530-540)
	Govindavarman (c. A. D. 540-546)
	Madhavavarman III (c. A. D. 546-611)
	Manachannabhattaraka

On the other hand, Dr. D. C. Sircar prefixed the pedigree of the Polamuru and Ipuru (I set) plates to that of the Chikulla and Ramatirtham plates. He held all the Madhavavarmans, described as to have performed eleven *asvamedhas* and one thousand *kratus* as identical. The genealogy and chronology of the Vishnukundins, he gives is as follows⁹ :

Vikramahendra (c. A. D. 500)
 |
Maharaja Govindavarman
 |
Maharaja Madhavavarman (c. A. D. 535-585.)

Devavarman	<i>Raja</i> Vikramendrabbattarakas	Manchanna
	Varman I	Bhattaraka
Madhava- varman	<i>Maharaja</i> Indrabhattarakas varman (c. A. D. 590-620)	
	Vikramendrabbattarakas varman II (c. A. D. 620-631)	

Apparently, Dr. Sircar also has been convinced of the proximity of the dates of the two Polamuru charters, as "it would seem the differences between the dates of the two grants was about half a century."¹⁰

But the recent discovery of the two Vishnukundin copper plate grants at Tummalagudem in the Nalgonda district,¹¹ has necessitated the revision of the genealogy and the chronology of the family. The evidence supplied by the Polamuru grant is incompatible with the information contained in the Tummalagudem sets. One of them, issued by Vikramendrabbattarakavarman II gives an unbroken line of succession from Govindavarman for five generations, as follows :

Govindavarman
 |
 Madhavavarman
 |
 Vikramendravarman I
 |
 Indrabhattarakavarman
 |
 Vikramendrabbattarakavarman II
 (the donor)

Thus, Dr. Sircar's identification of Madhavavarman of the Chikkulla plates and Ipur II set (and also Polamuru) plates, is confirmed. The record is dated in his 11th regnal year and also in the Saka year 488 (A D 566) The other Tummala-gudem plates issued by Govindavarman mention the donor's grandfather and father as Indravarman and Madhavavarman respectively. There is, however, no doubt that the Govindavarman mentioned in the I set was identical with the donor of the II set ¹² But, his father, according to the grant, was Madhavavarman, and not Vikramahendra as named in the Polamuru plates

The chronology in that case, may tentatively, be fixed as follows :

Indravarman
(c. A. D. 360-385)
Madhavavarman
(c. A. D. 385-410)
Govindavarman
(c. A. D. 410-450)
Madhavavarman II
(c. A. D. 450-500)
Vikramendravarman I
(c. A. D. 500-525)
Indrabhattarakavarman
(c. A. D. 525-555)
Vikramendra Bhattaraka
varman II
(c. A. D. 555-570)

Now, the two Polamuru plates would be chronologically apart by a century and a half.

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, in his recent monograph has considered the donor of the Polamuru and Ipuru I sets as the member of a collateral family, that descended from Vikramendra I. The learned scholar has opined that the Madhavavarman of the above charter ruled the region of Tewar in the Jabhalpore district, contemporaneous with Indrabhattaraka and Vikramendrabbhattaraka II, between A. D 546-594. He came to rule Vengi after Vikramendrabbhattarakara II, whence he gave the Polamuru plates.¹³ Obviously, this arrangement is to explain the proximity of time between the two Polamuru plates and also Vikramahendra as the progenitor of the family. On the other hand, Prof. O. Ramachandriah, on the basis of the epithets like *Hiranyagarbha prasutah* and the beloved of the women of Trivaranagara, has opined that the Madhavavarman of the Polamuru and Ipuru I sets was distinct from that of Chikkulla and Ramatirtham charters.¹⁴ He has identified the Vikramahendra of the Polamuru plates with the Vikramendrabbhattaraka II as B. N. Sastri has done.¹⁵ Mr. C. Soma Sundara Rao,¹⁶ felt alike and emphasized that Vikramendrabbhattaraka II cannot be taken to be the last ruler of the family "as there would be political vacuum in Andhra between 569 A.D. and 624 A.D." Hence, all the above mentioned scholars, no matter whether they identified the Vikramahendra with the Vikramendrabbhattaraka I or the II, maintained that the Polamuru and Ipuru I sets constitute the addendum to the Chikkulla or Tummalagudem sets of Vikramendrabbhattaraka II. Also, they adopted the chronological pattern, on the basis of the proximity of the two Polamuru plates.

It is rather difficult to believe that two Madhavavarmanas, in the same family, as to have performed alike, eleven *Asvamedhas* and one thousand *Agnishthomas*.¹⁷ Secondly, the Madhavavarman of the Polamuru and Ipuru I set also, seems to be a very great king, in view of the sacrifices he performed and the long reign he enjoyed. Thus, it is not reasonable to make him the last

member of the family, to be defeated and lost the kingdom to the Chalukyas. These points strongly advocate the identification of all Madhavavarmans, wherever mentioned, if they are described to be the performers of eleven *asvamedhas* and one thousand *kratus*.

The above mentioned scholars, who distinguished the Madhavavarmans of the Ramatirtham and Chikkulla plates on the one hand and the Ipuru I set and Polamuru plates on the other based their argument on the epithets *Hiranyagarbha-prasutah* and the beloved of the maiden(s) of Trivaranagara.¹⁸ These were the accomplishments of Madhavavarman and thus claimed by him in his records. But his successors, apparently, did not attach much credence to the *Hiranyagarbha* ceremony, as it was merely a purificatory ceremony.¹⁹ It is significant to note that the Chikkulla and Tundi plates describe Madhavavarman with such esteem as *Parameshthi* and *Devatideva*.²⁰ Such a personality, surely, does not need the greatness of performing the purificatory rite of *Hiranyagarbha* and thus the fact was disfavoured in the records of the later members. The reference to the maidens of Trivaranagara, which is also omitted in the later records of the family, can be explained, as the later members did not like to speak ignominiously about their grand or great-grand mother. Similarly, the variety and exaggerated number of the sacrifices performed by him, was due to the anxiety of his successors to describe him, as the supreme Lord and equal to *Brahman* etc.²¹ Hence, the above analysis proves that all the Madhavavarmans in the family, who performed the same number of *asvamedhas* and *agnishthomas* are one and the same, but cannot be different. For this identification, the Ipur I set does not contradict, but the Polamuru plates, with Vikramahendra heading the genealogy mentioned in it, goes contrary.

On a more critical observation, we can find much difference between the Ipur I and Polamuru plates, whose donors have been held identical till now. The difference is sometimes in the sense, but more in the spirit, of the epithets applied to the kings mentioned in them.

Firstly, the description of Govindavarman in the Polamuru plates is strikingly different either from the two Tummelagudem plates or the Ipuru I set of Madhavavarman. The Ipuru I set describes him as follows.²²

Aparimita bala parakramasya-Parama dharmikasya-Prapata-sukala-samantasya-Aneka go-Hiranya Bhumi - Pradanasya Mahirajasya

The Tummelagudem set of Vikramendrabhattaraka II, speaks of his Buddhist bent of mind and manners of achieving great merit by building many *viharas* as centres of learning.²³ His own Tummelagudem plates (II set) allude to his physical and intellectual prowess which enabled him to annex many kingdoms, but more to his generous as well as spiritual qualities that are mainly Buddhistic. These descriptions doubtlessly signify that Govindavarman was a generous and humane ruler, of course, not without valour and chivalry. On the contrary, the Polamuru plates describe him as²⁴

Aneka Samara-samghatta vijayinah-Para-narapati-makuta-manī mayukh-avadata - charana - yugalasya - vikramasrayasya - Sri-Govindavarmanah.

This description totally ignores his benevolent and spiritual disposition, and together with the title *Vikramasraya* is not supported by any other Vishnukundin record. Moreover, the above description is exactly the same, applied to Vishnuvardhana I (Kubja) in the Polamuru plates of Jayasimha.²⁵

Second point is the description of Madhavavarman, the donor of the plates. The Ipuru I set describes him in somewhat a polite tone, while the Polamuru plates with proud, exaggerated and even in a savage note. The Ipuru I²⁶ set attributes to him the qualities of memory, strength, firmness, courage, chivalry, and also *vinaya*, politeness or knowledge. It also says that his commands were respected by all the kings because of his enlightened disposition and strength. He is further said to have delighted the maiden in the palace of Trivaranagara. It signifies

apparently, that his conquest of Trivaranagara led to the marriage with the princes of the kingdom.²⁷ It is interesting to note, that the epithets with slight variations are repeated in the record. It would perhaps indicate that the king instead of boasting false exaggerations, contented with the repetition of his simple eulogy.²⁸

The Polamuru plates describe the Madhavavarman as of unconquerable strength and war-like qualities, wealthy of fame, generosity and knowledge. The terminology used to exaggerate his personality is not in tune with other records of the family, but comparable more to the description of Pulakesin II in his Marturu grant.²⁹ It calls as *Janasraya* and *Avasita vividha Divyah*,³⁰ the titles do not come across in any other Vishnukundin record. The title '*Janasraya*,'³¹ is obviously after the later Vishnukundin or Chalukyan records, as the titles with *asraya* suffix were borne by Indrabhattaraka and Vikramendrabhattaraka II only. Such titles are clearly anachronisms by the time of Madhavavarman. Secondly, his reference to the women of Trivaranagara as³² *Trivaranagara-bhavana gata-Parama yuvati jana viharana ratih*, is with a note of savagery in marked contrast with the similar statement in the Ipuru I³³ set as *Trivaranagara bhavanagata-yuvati hridayanandanah*. Finally, the title *Sarvabhuta parirakshana Chanchuh*, is after the description of Madhavavarman, in the Tundi and Chikkulla plates pertaining to his Divine attributions like *Sarvamedh-avapta sarvabhuta-svarajyasya*.³⁴ All these factors go against the reliability of the Polamuru plates.

Coming to the grant portion of the record, the Polamuru plates of Madhavavarman, has nothing to be compared with any other Vishnukundin grant. On the the other hand, it has striking similarities with the Eastern Chalukyan grants. Firstly, the tracing of the donee's genealogy to three generations is not met with in any other Vishnukundin grant. The Tundi plates of Vikramendrabhattaraka varman II mentions the father's name of the donee and all other records, that register gifts of *agraharas*, name only the respective donees. But, such delving into the donee's genealogy is very common in Eastern Choluayan

grants.⁸⁵ The epithets like *Veda ved-anga coluh*, *Scripturalakha gun-adhyasita-tanuh*, *Sarvalratu yajinah chaturvedu paraga shat karma nirataya* - are used to describe them. The Polamuru plates of Madhavavarman, distinctly from other records of the family, adopts the same formula

Secondly, the *Aynaplis* of the two Polamuru plates called the *Hastakosa* and *Virakosa*⁸⁶ are not common with any other Vishnukundin record. Official dignitaries to whom the grant was addressed also are alike in the two charters,⁸⁷ and does not appear in the other records of the family.

In the light of the foregoing observations, it appears that Polamuru plates as they have come down to us, are not the original record of Madhavavarman. He might have issued the charter, but the present one is a forged, or a restored one, and hence a spurious record. In its composition and execution, it is definitely in imitation of the later Vishnukundin and early Eastern Chalukyan records. Several mistakes and hearsay found place in the restoration that created much confusion. The name Vikramahendra and his royal epithets are then quite fictitious and the attributes to other kings are not at all authentic. Hence, the Polamuru plates of Madhavavarman needs no serious consideration in matters of the Vishnukundin genealogy and chronology.

NOTES

1 *Bharati* (Telugu) vol VIII, No 8 and vol. VIII, pp. 302 315 and *J. 4 H. R S* vol VI pp 17 ff

2 *J A H R S.*

3 B V Krishna Rao, *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, p. 416

4. *Ibid*, p 416

5 Ipuru I set mentions Govindavarman and his son Madhavavarman, the donor of the plates. *Aynapli* of the grant was Manohannabhattaraka, said to be the son of the king. The Madhavavarman, both in the Polamuru and the Ipuru I sets is said to be the performer of eleven *asamedhas* and one thousand *brathas* or *agnashthomas*, *haranyagartha* and also the beloved of the maiden(s) of the Trivara-nagara.

6. *Early Dynasties* p 412-413
- 7 *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol XI, pp 64 ff The scheme was followed by B V Krishnarao, (*Early Dynasties*, p 417), and R Subbarao (*J A H R S Vol VI* p 17-24)
- 8 As arranged by B. V Krishnarao *Early Dynasties*, p 420-421
- 9 *Successors of Satavahanas in the Eastern Deccan*, p 97 ff and *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol III, p 207
- 10 *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol III, p 208
- 11 *Bharati* (Telugu) Vol 42, No 6 p 14-28 and No 7, p 2-14
They were also authentically edited in *Epigraphia Andhrica*, II,
- 12 For the arguments in favour of and against, see *J I H Vols XLIV, pt III*, pp 683 691 and *XLVI, Pt II*, pp 217 225
- 13 *A P G A S* No 40 pp 14 15
- 14 *Itihas Vol I* p 6 Apparently he followed K V Lakshmanrao, B V Krishnarao Prof K A N Sastri and others
- 15 *Bharati* (Telugu) Vol 42 *op cit*
- 16 "The Chronology of the Vishnukundins", paper read in the Seminar on "Early Andhra-A Socio-Economic Study", held by Andhra University P G Centre at Guntur 1976
- 17 Dr D C Sircar, *I H Q IX*, 653 ff and *J A H R S XI* p 129 ff
- 18 B V Krishna Rao *Early Dynasties*, p 412, Prof O Ramachandraiah, *Itihas, I, Pt I*, p 19, Prof K A N Sastri, *The History and Culture of the Indian People Vol III*, p 223, fn 2, and Mr V S Ramachandramurthy, *J A H R*, Vol X, pp 187 ff
- 19 The *Hiranyagarbha* might have been performed by Madhavavarman to remove himself from the impurity of born being to Buddhist parents.
- 20 *Kratuvar amushthai-adhastha-Pratihaita-Parameshthitvah*, meaning - by virtue of the great *kratus* celebrated He, who attained the supreme status of Parameshthi the Chikkulla plates II 6 7 Also *Kratu amushthana Janita Parameshthyasya-Devatadevasya* - the Tundi Grant II 7-8 See Dr. D C Sircar, in *E I. XXVI*, No 1, p 9
- 21 The number and the variety of sacrifices as attributed to the Madhavavarman, by his successors is rather exaggerate. In addition to the eleven *asvamedhas* and thousand *kratus* he might have performed Bahusuvarnna and Poun-darika reported in the Khanapur plates (*E I XXVI, Pt VII, 11 2 3*).
- 22 Text lines 1-3
- 23 *Bharati op cit*
- 24 Text II 4 6
- 25 Text II 4-5 *Aneka samara-Samghattavijayina-Paranarapati makuta-mani mayukh avadata charana yugalasya Sri Vishnuvardhana-maharajah*
- 26 Text II 3-4
- 27 Dr N Venkataramanayya, has opined that the statement would mean that, Madhavavarman ruled over the "region, from Trivaranagara "
- 28 Of the *Prasastis* in the Ipuru (I set) and Khanapur plates (*op cit*) with that of Polamur plates

29 *Naya vinaya-vijnana dana-daya dalshinaya mahabala utaha dhavaya sthavya madhurya-gambhurya vrya tyaga - et- il B H*, can be compared to the description of Madhavavarman in the Polamuru plates as *amanva nripati sadhara na-dana-mana daya dharma-dhriti mati kshanti-lanti-saury audarya-gambhurya-prabhriti-aneka-guna-sampajjanita-rayanamutthita-bhumavdala-vyasa- upala-yasah -*

30 line 17 of the Text

31 line 8 of the Text

32 line 8 of the Text

33 line 4 of the Text

34 *Vide supra*, note No 20

35 See the Penukappa grant (*Bharati Raktakshi, Asvayuja*, pp 139 146 Nidamaru grant (*Ibid*, *Krodhana, Laksakha* pp 2 10) of Jayasimha; Ederu Plates of Vijayaditya II (*E I*, I No 16, pp 118 121), and Masulipatnam Plates of Vijayaditya III, (*Ibid*, pp 122 126), are some examples to be cited

36 line 29 of the Polamuru plates of Madhavavarman and line 21 of the Polamuru plates of Jayasimhavalabha

37. The Polamuru plates of Madhavavarman read like thus :

Janasraya maharajah guddavadi vishaye-vishaya-mahatteram adhikara purushamscha-ima-martha-majnapayati-astividitam-astu vo asambhih Guddavadi vishaye-Daliya-vavitire-Pulumbura-nama gramah Sarvvakara-pariharana - agrahari-krittaya-sampradattah Tatha bhavadbhih - anyaischa-dharm - adhigata - budhibhih-paripalanayah-na-kaischid-badha-karaniya

Correspondingly the Polamuru plates of Jayasimha read like this :

Maharajah Guddavadi-vishaye-vishaya-mahatteram- adhikara purushamscha imam-artham-ajnapayati-asti- viditamastu-vo-yatha-asambhih-Guddavadi-vishaye- Pulumbura nama-gramah ... Sri sarvvasiddhi dattaya- sarvvakarapariharana-agrahari-krittaya-sampradattah- tadha-bhavadbhih-vnayaaischa-dharm-adhikata-buddhi- bhih-Paripalanayah-Na-Kaischid-badha-karaniya.

TELINGANA STYLE - EARLY PHASE

A D 1000 — 1163

Dr B RAJENDRA PRASAD

Among the regional temple styles of Andhra Pradesh in the medieval times, the Telingana style is the most distinguished one for this style covered the entire modern Telingana region, and its extensions are seen in the Andhra as well. This style as distinctive expression, is evidenced from the beginning of 11th century A. D. coinciding with the rise of Kakatiya dynasty and their overlords, the Kalyani Calukyas.¹ An analysis of its formal as well as decorative features in the early stage of style's formulation would reveal how the style had emerged suddenly and almost having no connection with the earlier styles of this region, namely of the Sapadalaksha or Kandur nadu, especially in architectural features.² This can be explained by the fact that the Kalyani Calukyan control of this region having their capitals at Pottalakere, Kollipaka made their presence felt in strong manner and also by the influx of artists and architects from Karnata region. This paper concerns itself with an analysis to elucidate the above and the time range chosen is from A. D 1000 to A. D 1163. To this period the following temples are ascribed. The Ramalingeswara temple at Nandikandi, The Narasimha and Suryanarayana temples at Alampur, the Chennakesava temple at Gangapur, The Paccala Somesvara temple at Panagal. The Agastyesvara temple at Aihole, the Vishnu temple at Punhole, the Somesvara temple at Kulpak, the temples at Papanasi.³

Before we enter into the discussion on the architectural aspects of 11th century temples, a brief review of the architectural features of the temples during the Rashtrakuta period is attempted here to understand the developments that followed later on. Alampur, Papanasi, Pancalingala, Maremunagala, Alvanipalli and Vemulavada have temples of Rashtrakuta period. On plan *trikuta* shrines with a common *rangamandapa* is featured at Maremunagala, Papanasi. The other temples have *mukhamandapa*, an *antarala* and a *garbhagrha*. *Nandamandapa* forming integral part of this scheme as noticed in the Bhimesvara temple at Vemulavada. The bases are either *manca* type or a mixture of *pala* and *prati bandha* types. The former is seen at Papanasi, Pancalingala, Maremunagala, Alampur etc, while the latter is observed at Vemulavada and Alvanipalli. Further more the use of *l papi* *tha* is also instanced in the Bhimesvara temple. The walls are plain in most of the temples featuring either a *Jalavalayana* or a niche. The wall pattern thus remained mostly simple. Among the superstructural forms we notice *phamsana*, *Vimana*, *Salakara* and *Gajapresthakara*. The pillars invariably are of *citrakhanda* form though we find an instance of *vardhamana* order at Vemulavada. The doorways are of triple jambed or five jambed variety. They are richly carved with *lata*, *rupa*, *Vyalu Stambha* and *lata patra*. Besides Ganga and Yamuna we also find *nidhi* figures and *candra* *ala* at the door. The ceilings are normally flat type although the lozenge shaped ceiling is also used.

Now to the architectural features of 11th and 12th centuries. Temples belonging to the Early phase are mostly Dravidian in style. While the *Phamsana* form continued to be favoured as in the preceeding centuries, the *Bhumija* form also makes its reappearance⁴. On plan the temples normally have an open *ranga mandapa*, an *antarala* and a *garbhagrha*⁵. Instances of the temples having a *mukhamandapa* are also encountered as in the Suryanarayanastharam temple at Alampur, the Chennakesava temple at Gangapur etc. The *Trikuta* form is also found. However variation to the *trikuta* is shown by placing the shrines at the back of *mukhamandapa*, instead of placing on either side of

mukhamandapa. This is seen at Panagal Ainole, and Alampur. The *Panchayatana* layout is seen in the Chennakesava temple, at Gangapur⁶. Depending upon the form of temple, the plan of the *garbhagrha* is made star shaped⁷. This is found at Nandikandi where the temple is of *Bhumiya* form. The proliferation of the wall beyond the *manasutra* line is also encountered in the temples at Nandikandi, Gangapur and Panagal.

The temples do not generally stand on a high plinth but exceptions are noticed at Nandikandi and Gangapur. When it is used, this is in the manner of *Jagati* of Nagara tradition. Tenth century temples in Telangana region as at Vemulavada have high *Upapitha* typical to the Dravidian style. While this has *Upana*, *Kantha* and *Pattika*, the Gangapur and Nandikandi temples have the *Jagati* possessing a series of *bhittas* devoid of any decorative carving. This is a new feature that came into vogue in Kuntala as seen at Lakkundi. The bases depending on the form of temple are either an *adhsthana* or *pitha*. The former is seen in the temples at Papanasi, Ainole, Punnole etc. To the latter temples at Mallesvaram, Alvanipalli etc. can be cited as examples. At Nandikandi we have *pitha* possessing *bhitta*, *jadyakumbha*, *antarapatra* and *Kapotali* while in the *ranga mandapa* part the *Karnika* is introduced. This actually is the *tripatta Kumuda* which acquired the shape of *Karnika* by virtue of its compressed and knife edged form. Though the early shrines at Panagal and Gangapur are of Dravidian style, they also reveal the change in the form of the mouldings as well⁸. Here we have the usual *upana*, *Jagati*, *Karnika* and *Kapota*. The forms of these mouldings lose their identity later and the bases show the use of *bhittas*, *Karnika* and *Kapota*. This transformation becomes clear in the Thousand pillared temple at Hanamkonda⁹. The proportions and form of mouldings are closer to the bases in the temples at Lakkundi, Gudur, Sirwal etc. By this the fabric of the base is completely different parting ways with the Dravidian style or for that matter of the styles of the earlier period in this region.

Important change occurs in the treatment of the wall which certainly bestows an individuality to the style. During this

period we notice three types of wall. In the first type the wall is composed of intended buttresses similar to the massive pular in its look and are faceted. The *Kutastambha* enframed in a *makaratorana* occupies dimly lighted recessed parts of the wall. The shrine models used in these are either *latina* or *Phamsana* form and are narrow and elongated. The *makaratorana* springing from the either end of *Kutastambha* converges at the point of the *Kalasa*. Similar decorative elements are employed in the temples of Kuntala region which however differ in the aspects of rich decor and bulging shape as opposed to the slender, elongated and abbreviated form found in the Telingana region. In the top portion of the buttresses the widely differentiated *Uttar* element repetitive in its employment is also found. This type of wall is also noticed in the Paccala Somevara temple, at Panagal.¹⁰ While this type of wall is not encountered prior to 11th century in Telingana, its appearance along with the new type of *Pritha* underlines the sudden emergence of new style. However the sources for this type can be found in the 11th century temples in the Kuntala region, particularly Kasivisvesvara temple at Lakkundi, the Galesvara temple at Galaganath and the Ramalingeswara temple at Gudur etc. Parenthetically it may be pointed out that the temples in Seunadesa and Malava initiated this type of wall pattern as it best suited for the *anskandaka* and *Bhumija* form of temples.¹¹

In other type of wall pattern, the wall is divided into *Karna*, *Pratiratha*, *Konika* and *bhadra* - all proliferating parts. Each part is framed with slender pilasters that support a *phamsana* superstructure or a *makaratorana*. The upper part of the wall is treated with repetitive bracket, highly differentiated as noticed in the other wall pattern. Temples belonging to this type are seen at Gangapur, Panagal etc.¹² In later phase the Ramappa temple at Palampet, the Siva temple at Kushmanchi are best examples of this kind.¹³ The Chennakesava temple at Gangapur is a splendid example for its proportions are excellent. The high walls, accentuated by the slender pilasters, graceful in look, provide an unusual rhythm to the wall. Lack of any kind of decorative carving bestows an architectonic character

This novel pattern is once again borrowed from Kuntala : the temples at Begali, Nilagonda, Kuravatti, Huvinahadapalli, Lak-kundi etc. of 10th-11th centuries are the case in point.¹⁴

Simple walls lacking niches or pilasters are also encountered. This is noticed in the Chennakesava temple at Pudur, the Suryanarayanāsvarāmi temple and Narasimha temple at Alampur.

The superstructure in the temples of this period belong to three varieties namely *Vimāna*, *Phamsana* and *Bhumija* forms. Of these *Vimāna* is native to this region. The remnants of the *Vimāna* of the Paccala Somesvara temple, Siva temple at Beccam are notable examples. In these the *haras* of the *talas* are indistinct and the constituent elements are highly faceted. The *Kutis* are prominent though highly abbreviated. The superstructures are heavy and emphasise the basal width. The square *sikhara* is favoured. The *Phamsana* form is instanced at Alampur, Pudur, Papanasī etc.¹⁵ Simple stepped pyramidal superstructures with *sukanasa* in front became popular as in the preceding centuries.

The *Bhumija* form is noticed in the Ramalingesvara temple at Nandikandi. It is the earliest known example of *tribhumi* class in Telingana region. In this conspicuous is the absence of the *mala* element, a feature typical to the *Bhumija* form. The *Srngas* on the other hand are distinctive and their position is set on the buttresses that ascend to the summit where the star-shaped neck element terminates the *sikhara*. In the *srnga* element the miniature shrines are of *latina* form which is known as *Nagara Karma* according to the Vastu texts. The crowning elements of the *sikhara* are the *skandha* inverted in its form, the *Phalaka*, *griva* followed by the *ghanta* and *kalasa*. The form and the sequence is exceptional and is distinguished from the Kuntala or Seunadesa examples. The *Sukanasa* reaches upto the second *bhumi*.

Though in Kuntala no standing temple of *Bhumija* form is reported to date, we have several representations of the *Bhumija sikhara*. Prominent among them is the one represented

in the Kasivisvesvara temple at Lakkundi (early 11th century). In this example the *mala* element with *surasena* at the base and four *srnga* courses of the *Nagarakarma* class in three storeys are noticed. The prominence of the *ghanta* element is also noteworthy. In these examples the subdued height of the pilaster part of the *Kutastambha* is a characteristic feature. So is the case at Nandikandi. The *Uttara* part is highlighted in the *Srnga* at Nandikandi which is indistinct in the Kuntala examples. Thus the lack of *mala* element makes the *Bhumija* form at Nandikandi as an aberrant example. We have in the later phase the *mala* element in the *Bhumija* *sikharas* as seen at Pillalamari, Ghanapur etc. once again this form is a borrowing from Kuntala.

Coming to the other architectural elements, the doorway, the pillar and the ceilings deserve consideration.

The *cutrakhandā* pillar is highly favoured in all the temples, as was in the earlier period. New motifs like the tracery like the tracery like ornamental motif is found in the middle portion of the shaft at Nandikandi, Panagal etc. This is a motif frequently found in the Sennadesa temples. The use of miniature shrine models of *Phamsena* and *anekandaka* types came into vogue in 10th century as seen at Vemulavada and in the 11th century temples as seen at Nandikandi etc. The *Vyala* riders are also found on the brackets. Another pillar type that is employed in this period is the *vardhamana* type. This also had antecedents in the Kuntala region, particularly at Lakkundi.

Richly carved doorways having three, or five jambs are invariably found. The jambs are decorated with a *lata* in convolutions with *ganās*, *stambha*, *vyala*, *lata* and finally *rupa*. The overdoor is always fashioned like a *chadya* and above it religious themes are carved. In the decorative carvings we notice the mannerisms of Kuntala architecture.

The ceilings normally are of flat type and carry *Śiva Nataraja* with *astadikpālas*. Lozenge shaped ceilings are also frequently employed.

We have referred to earlier about the influx of artists and architects Pusana, son of Betoja, is mentioned in an inscription at Nandikandi. Though this is the only instance of the name of artist found in the inscriptions during 11th century, we may conclude by the great impact of Kuntala architectural conventions that several architects came over to the Telangana region. Architectural analysis and the political history of this region supports the above conclusions.

To sum up there exists clear break with the prevailing architectural tradition of Telangana from 11th century on

NOTES

1 For the history of this period consult Venkataramanyya N and Soma sekharra Sarma M, 'Kakatiyas in Yazdani G, *The Early History of Deccan* London 1960

2 Sapadalaksa corresponds to the modern district of Nizamabad, Karimnagar districts while the Kandarnadu corresponds to the modern districts of Nalgonda and Mahabubnagar

3 For the Ramlingesvara temple at Nandikandi consult my article 'A Bhumija Temple at Nandikandi' in *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society* Vol 34 (In Press) Radhakrishna Sarma M *Temples of Telangana* Hyderabad 1972 pp 77-83. Though he dates correctly he fails to recognise this temple as of Bhumija form. For Narasimha and Suryanarayanaswami temples at Alampur see Radhakrishna Sarma *op cit* pp 50. For Chennakesava temple at Gangapur see *Ibid* pp 77-83 pl 19. For Panagal consult *Nizam's Dominions ARAD 1927 28* pp 25 and plates. For Malleswaram and Bekkam see Radhakrishna Sarma *op cit* 88, for Ainole *Ibid*, For Kulpak *Ibid* pp 66-68. For Temples at Papanasi see my article 'Papanasi Devalayamulu' *Bharati* 1970, October pp 20-24

4 The term *phamsana* denotes stepped pyramidal superstructure

5 For the ground plan of Nandikandi See Radhakrishna Sarma *Op Cit* pl 15

6 *Ibid* pl 19

7 *Ibid*, pl 5

8 *Nizam's Dominions ARAD 1927 28* pp 25

9 Radhakrishna Sarma *op cit* pl 20

10 *Nizams Dominions ARAD 1927 28*

11 Pramodchandra (ed) *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, New Delhi 1975 pl 21 and 31-34

12 Radhakrishna Sarma *op cit* pl 19 and 59

13 *Ibid* pl 22

14 Rea A, *Chalukyan Architecture* Varanasi, 1970 (Reprint)

15 Rajendraprasad B, *op cit*, Sarma *op cit* pl 18

PEASANTRY IN THE ZAMINDARY SYSTEM

*A Case Study of Bobbili and Vizianagaram
Zamindaries (Vizagapatnam Dist)**

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“The poverty of India was not a product of its geography or of the lack of natural resources or of some inherent defect in the Character and Capabilities of the people, nor was it a remnant of the Mughal period or of the pre-British past. *It was mainly a product of the last two centuries.*”¹ (emphasis added)

As a result of the British rule, India was transformed into a classic colony and its economy, and social development were subordinated to British economy and social development. The British brought about a most important transformation in India's agricultural economy and it led to the evolution of a new structure of agrarian relations. The British introduced two major land revenue and tenurial systems. One was the Zamindari² system and the other was the Ryotwari³ system. But whatever the name of the system, it was the peasant cultivators who suffered⁴ at the hands of the British agrarian system.

*The present study is restricted only to pre independence days. Therefore it should be noted that Vizagapatam, was a district in erstwhile Madras Presidency

droughts, floods and famines. At the same time the money lender could also manipulate the new judicial system and the administrative machinery to this advantage. In fact in this regard the Government directly helped him because without him the land revenue could be collected in time nor could the agricultural produce be brought to the ports for export. Vanghan Nash in 1900 writes "that the authorities regarded the money-lender as their mainstay for the payment of revenue"¹². It is clear that in both the Zamindari and the Ryotwari areas there occurred a large scale transfer of land from the hands of the actual peasant (cultivator) to the foreclosures of moneylender merchants and so on.

The peasantry was perhaps the chief victim of British Colonialism. Broadly speaking the peasantry was not a homogenous class but it is a combination of different classes¹⁴. The upper strata of the peasantry i.e. the rich and the middle class could somehow manage to stand inspite of the colonial oppression. The poor peasant was soon caught in the firm clutches of the landlord and the moneylender. To quote Bipin Chandra "He found himself master neither of his land nor of crops, he produced not even of his own labour power"¹⁵. In pre-British India the peasant considered to be the owner of the land but now virtually he became a tenant-at-will. Large portion of them dispossessed from their land, which resulted in *Migration to cities* or subsistence. (For instance South Indian labourers to Nagiri and Assam plantations). It is estimated that the proportion of agriculture labourers to aggregate agricultural population in Madras was 34.1% in 1921 and jumped to 52.9% in 1938.

Keeping the above discussion in view this paper attempts to examine the attitude of Zamindars towards the peasants in the Madras Presidency with particular reference to Northern Circars.

The most extensive system of land tenures prevalent in the Madras Presidency is the Ryotwari which comprises about 2/3 of the total area and the extent under the permanently settled

estates. Inams and so on constitute approximately about 1/3 of the area. About half of the area of the seven Andhra districts of Vizagapatnam, the East Godavari, the West Godavari, the Krishna, Guntur, Nellore and Chittoor were under the Zamindari system of land tenure.¹⁶

The district of Vizagapatnam, the most popular in the province is largely occupied by the non-ryotwari estate which account for about 9/10 of the total area of the district. Of all the Zamindaries Bobbili and Vizianagaram occupied a predominant position in terms of their extent and the payment of peshkush (Land Revenue) The institution of permanent settlement with the Zamindars in the Presidency was largely due to external influence subsequent to the establishment of a permanent settlement in Bengal, the Madras Government was pressed hard to follow the Bengal example in land tenurial system. A series of measures followed between 1795 and 1802 which decided the establishment of a permanent settlement in the Northern Circars. The Bobbili and Vizianagaram estates were settled in 1803 with a peshkush (land revenue) of rupees 90 thousands and rupees 5 lakhs respectively and *sunnaads*¹⁷ were issued.

Under the permanent settlement the Zamindars got the authority to hold the Zamindari for ever. In return they had to make a fixed payment to Government called peshkush. The Zamindaris were made not only heritable but also transferable. The peshkush itself was not arrived at scientifically and no general rules were followed. The rights of the ryots were not defined nor were their rental dues to the new landlords fixed at any particular level to prevent exploitation.

No doubt judicially some arrangements were made to protect the ryots but in practise they became valueless. For instance section 14 of the Madras estates land Act of 1908 prescribes that "the Zamindars or land holders should enter into engagements with their ryots for rent either in kind or in money and shall within a reasonable period of time exchange pattas and Muchilikas defining the amount to be paid by him

and explaining every condition of the engagement". Contrary, it is interesting to observe the evidence given by the ryots before prakasam committee, which says that "we have executed Muchilikas in favour of the estate but not of our own accord. All of us being illiterate persons we have unjustly executed them For want of boldness we have not made any representation".¹⁸

Rates of Rent : Since no systematic arrangement is made with regard to the rents, Zamindars raised the rents at their will and pleasures.

Estate	Dry land	Wet land
1. Vizianagaram	Rs 0-25 to 8-00	Ra. 3 to Rs 22
2. Bobbili	Rs. 2 to 6-00	Rs. 6 to Rs. 35

Logically speaking there rates are double or treble the rates prevailing in Ryotwari areas. To quote "Sayana the levy of rents in money by Zamindars is as a rule stands no comparison with the levy of revenue in similar and similarly situated adjoining Government areas. The Zamindari rates are generally higher than the Govt. rates of assessment by atleast 4 to 5 time."¹⁹

Till the passing of the Estates land Act I, 1908 the Zamindars began to levy and enhance rents agritrarily in innumerable ways. Witness No 23 of Bobbili says "the rents are enhanced and there are no remissions. The assessment has been enhanced 3 or 4 tfmes after the permanent settlement. They are as follows : —

a) Wet land irrigated by tanks from Rs. 8 to 18 Rs.

b) Wet lands irrigated by rivers from Rs. 25 to 45.

c) Dry lands Rs. 3 to 12

He further says that the Government lands under canals the rate is only Rs. 12.²⁰

The rates of Govt wet from Rs 2 to 8

Dry from Rs 0-50 to Rs 3/-

It is interesting to note the factors which led to the enhancements of rents in the Zamindaries They are as follows

Firstly, in the early period an effective way of raising rents was the practice of the Zamindars to lease out their estates to rentiers or the Izaradars at the highest sums who used to pillage the villages by squeezing as much as they could from the ryots for Ex Muttadar system

Secondly in the estates where the Zamindar dealt with the ryots directly every renewal of the lease led to to enhancement of rents Within a period of 15 to 25 years rents were found becoming twofold and even four fold of the original ones Thirdly, commutation of rents from kind to cash resulted in enormous rise of rents The rents in kind which consisted of additions due to illegal levies as the garsi mamool, Sadalwar madari and so on were simply converted into money at arbitrary rates

The enhancement of rents crushed the peasantry resulting which they fell in arrears Broadly speaking the causes of arrears appear to be (a) high rent (b) absence of remissions (c) lack of Wroper system of issuing individual Pattas of Joint Pattas and so on Because of the arrears, the peasant was forced to borrow money from the moneylender To quote witness No. 45 of Bobbili "On account of arrears the whole village *passed into the hands of the Sowcars*' The crops having failed we have become indebted The Sowcars brought them to auction and took possession of them in adjustment of the dues"²¹

State of Irrigation The bad condition of irrigation works absence of construction of new irrigation works and the upkeep of old ones in good condition have been the matter of universal complaint in all the estates Zamindars did not pay any attention to improve irrigation facilities nor they allowed the tanks

to dig earth and clear off the silt To quote witness 16 of Vizianagaram "Most of the irrigation sources were in a highly neglected state and nearly 3000 tanks had been in a state of neglect for the past seven or eight years "21

There are about 8204 irrigation sources in the Vizianagaram estate 23 When the court of wards took over the management of the estate the general condition of very many of the irrigation sources in the estate was deplorable The piecemeal attempts made in the pre-assumption period were not successful though on an average Rs. 1,60,000 was spent each year Commenting on the irrigation report of Bobbili, the Committee said "this is very doubtful case the information supplied speaks of irrigation budgets allotted and expenditure incurred but does not specify whether it is for improvements or maintenance the money was expended "24

The below statement gives an idea concerning to the income and expenditure of Vizianagaram Zamindary

	Rs.
a) Allowances to the wards and other members of the family	4,20,484
b) Land, Forest, Misc Revenue Demand	29,25,106
c) Govt. Demands	12,30,425
d) Govt Commission for Management	35,173
e) Establishment charges for Management	3,47,294
f) Maramat expending or building, irrigation and so on	3,74,628

It is clear that the Zamindari spent only 4% for the betterment of the peasants and rest of the amount was consumed for

personal extravagance. Over a period of (1802-1938) the net income of the Estate went upto 300%²⁵.

The Zamindars had their own revenue collection machinery which comprises the tana and supervisors establishments viz , Revenue Inspectors, amins and soon The percentage of collection charges to revenue will normally be about 7.5%. The method of collection was oppressive and the peasants were left at their mercy Witness No. 20 of Bobbili said that "the rates of rent in the estate are high The estate collects rent by breaking our heads Due to their failure to pay rents, the Ryots became the forced labour especially adjoining the forests"²⁶ It is said that the trouble from the Estate authorities in this respect is that they expect mamuls from us. If a quarter-anna in the rupee is not paid to the Zamindari Revenue Inspectors, we are threatened that interest would be charged "²⁷

From the above admission one can draw the conclusion that the Zamindars represented the pre-capitalist mode of extraction of rent and invested the investable capital in unproductive sectors and for personal luxuries. To quote Dr A V. Ramana Rao "The Zamindaries like Jeypore and Vizianagaram ignored the existence of a permanent power in the country. They 'like grand Mughuls, purchasing elephants, horses, shawles amounting to Rs. 70,000 to Rs. 80,000 annually, throwing the financial system into the worst confusion'.²⁸ Again "the economic conditions of the Zamindars was reminiscent of the middle ages. There were no improvements in irrigation, technical advances, or schools or provision for agricultural credit. The ryots lived a most impoverished life"²⁹

NOTES

1 Chandra B *Freedom Struggle*, New Delhi 1972, p 24.

2 Logically speaking under the Zamindari system old tax farmers, revenue collectors and so on were turned into private land lords possessing some but not all of the rights of private property in land

3 Under the Ryotwari system the Government collected the revenue directly from the individual cultivators who were recognised in law as the owners of the land they cultivated

4 Chandra B *Op Cit* p 18

5 The concept of colonialism as a distinct historical stage was formulated by Prof Bipin Chandra For a detailed study see (a) "Colonialism and Modernization" Presidential address, section III, Indian History Congress thirty second session Jabalpur 1970 (b) "Colonialism Metropolitan Control and the Colonial State Modification of European theory" A paper presented at the UNESCO Meeting, Maputo, Mozambique, 1978 Memoirgraphed writings of Andre Gunder Frank, Alavi, Jarijs Banaji and Funnival are also useful in this respect

6 Venkatasubbaiah, G Acharyaranga (A Bibliography) Vijayawada 1948 p 154

7 Mahajan V D *India Since 1928*, New Delhi, 1975 p 77

8 *Ibid*

9 *Ibid* p 78

10 Chandra B *Op Cit* p 19

11 Dutt R P *India Today*, New Delhi, 1976 p 82

12 *Ibid*, p 87.

13 *Ibid*

14 A class is to be defined in terms of economic status in a given society The peasantry was broadly divided into 3 classes (a) rich peasants (b) middle (c) poor peasants and agricultural labourers

15 Chandra B *Op Cit* p 81

16 The total peshkush paid by the Zamindars throughout the Presidency is 41 2 lakhs of rupees nearly and their total rent roll is estimated to be 232 5 lakhs of which the estates in the Vizagapatnam district paid an amount of 11 7 lakhs of rupees as peshkush and their rent roll is 42 4 lakhs nearly

17 See Appendix I

18 Prakasham T (Chairman) *Madras Estates Land Committee Report*, Madras, 1938 p 40

19 Sayana V V *The Agrarian Problems of Madras Province*, Madras, 1949 p 106

20 Prakasam *Op Cit* p 16

21 *Ibid* p 84

22 *Ibid* p 40

23 The below statement give the number of major and minor sources in the varying ayacuts

a) With ayacut under 10 acres	8108
b) With ayacut between 10 to 50 acres	3413
c) With ayacut between 50 to 100 acres	1050
d) With ayacut above 100 acres	521

24. *Ibid* p 249

25. Net income of the Estate in :

	Rs
a) 1802—1815	8,15,749
b) 1815—1822	8,50,000
c) 1822—1845	8,27,000
d) 1847—1852	10,00,000
e) 1898—1904	16,94,000
f) 1904—1936	17,26,000
g) 1936	24,76,000

26 Sayana V V, *Op Cit.* p 108

27 *Ibid* p 64

28 Raman Rao, A V. *Economic Development of Andhra Pradesh*, Bombay, 1958, p 77

29. *Ibid* p 72.

ASPECTS OF AGRARIAN REVOLUTION IN ANDHRA

(1800 — 1820)

*The Munro System — Extermination
of Poligars*

M PATTABHIRAMA REDDY

On his assumption of office Munro had to deal with some eighty poligars¹ and their thirty thousand peons. Some of them, descendants of former Hindu dynasties, were permitted by the Mohammadan rulers to guard the frontiers, and to pay tribute. Some of them were revenue collectors who usurped power over certain areas. During the periods of political anarchy following the decline of the Mughal authority even some of the headmen had arrogated to themselves power over several villages.² Their original duties of putting down robberies, of bringing offenders to justice and of making good the loss of stolen property, thus exercising civil and military jurisdiction had faded out.³ They had usurped the legal rights over the proprietorship of the soil, treated the cultivators as their serfs,⁴ and indulged in collecting land revenue. They degenerated into free-booters, maintaining military retainers and flaunting the paraphernalia of the princes.⁵ The successive rulers, the Nawabs of Cuddaph, Tipu Sultan the Nizam, or even the Marathas could not subdue them.⁶ The officers of the Nizam condoned their depredations in return for large bribes and a share in the spoils of plunder.

The Governor-in council instructed Munro to recognize the principles and prerogatives of the poligars. He was to appreciate the advantage to be expected from the continuance of hereditary possessions to the descendants of ancient families. This of course was a question of policy and not of right.⁷ Munro however thought differently. Unless he put down the poligars, he would not be able to go ahead with the organization of revenue administration. He wanted to expel the poligars "by turning every soul of them adrift and deprive them of all authority by giving them pension. But he feared that he would be called to account "for oppressing fallen royalty." He therefore preferred to wait for an opportunity to declare them rebels before crushing them.⁸

As a first step he raised the revenue assessments on the poligars with a view to making it uneconomical for them to keep their troops. He then changed the tribute into a land rent. And finally he issued a proclamation ordering their surrender threatening dire consequences⁹ for those who opposed the sovereign authority of the Madras Government.¹⁰ Those poligars who opposed the government order were put down.¹¹ Munro enumerated eighty poligars of whom the poligars of Vemula, Chitwel, Porumamilla, Narasapur, Tippireddipalli, Uppalur, Kamalapuram, Bonamala, Yerraguntla, Settivaripalem, Lopatanuta, Chintagunta banda, Sanipaya, Motakutta, and Gopagudipalli were prominent in the Cuddapah district.¹² By the beginning of 1802 Munro was able to report that he had reduced the poligars and had also dispossessed them. Though there were some minor poligars who continued their hit and-run tactics, there was no more insurrection by any considerable force.¹³ The Court of Directors who wanted to follow a policy of moderation to ensure their future fidelity¹⁴ strongly disapproved of his military measures particularly against the poligar of Vemula in the District of Cuddapah.¹⁵ Munro strongly defended his action. He wrote to Bentinck, Governor of Madras. "Of the men who argue in favour of the poligars, it may be doubted whether any one individual rightly understands what poligars are, or has ever seriously considered what would be the probable consequence of

their reinstatement They do not know that the poligars of the Ceded Districts never were regarded as landlords but as petty princes They can never be converted into private land-owners who would devote their whole attention to the improvement of their estate.... It is not to be believed that such men if reinstated would ever become anything like country gentlemen which the term Zamindar has often erroneously been said to imply.¹⁶

Munro was emphatic about not only the extirpation of the poligars which he did, but also the elimination of the farmers of revenue, for he believed that the final power of regulating assessment and collection of revenue should belong to the Government in order to maximise revenue collections and infuse confidence in the ryots¹⁷ It may be stated that subsequent experience proved the wisdom of Munro's policy, in upholding the rule of law as against the anarchy sought to be perpetuated by the oligarchy of poligars

Revenue Settlement

The very first settlement was village settlement According to it, the heads of villages were to collect the revenue from the peasants and pay a lumpsum to the government with a little surplus left to them as remuneration for collections The headmen were not considered as landlords, though they had 'inams' for their subsistence. Munro was not in favour of handing over villages to headmen, lest "they would take advantage of the present possession and endeavour to enrich themselves by oppressing the tenants"¹⁸ His system led to a settlement which provided for the elimination of the intermediary farmers of revenue¹⁹ Every ryot held his land from the government and was given a 'patta', or title deed The revenue assessment was regulated by the quality of the land and the condition of the cultivation The revenue varied from two fifths to three fifths of the produce and the value was reckoned in money²⁰

Munro ordered a survey of all lands in the Ceded Districts which was completed in 1806²¹ The first report of Munro dated

30 November 1806 describes this mode of settlement before the completion of the survey. The second report dated 26 July 1807 describes the survey, and the assessment based on it. In the beginning, the headman ascertained which lands each ryot wanted to cultivate. He permitted the ryots to relinquish lands not required by them, and such lands were given to needy ryots. The rents were fixed by the Collector at a later stage, after estimating the yield of the crop. The Tahsildar visited each village, supervised the cultivation in villages. He made advances to the poorer among the ryots for purchasing seed, ploughs and cattle. He assembled the ryots in the respective villages and ascertained the lands held by them. He took an account of occupied and unoccupied lands. He toured again to find out the conditions of the crops.²³ Then the Collector went on his tour in September-October, assembled the ryots in a few villages, and estimated the crops, comparing the information with the data supplied by the Tahsildar and the village officers. He compared them with the past accounts and made the final assessment. The full rent of waste lands was collected only if they had been in cultivation from 2 to 7 years. He granted remission where the crops were bad. He then granted each ryot a 'patta' which contained the extent of the land and the rents for the year. This settlement was conducted in all the villages within a month or five weeks.²⁴

Thanks to the survey and settlement, the ryotwari system was the simplest mode of assessment. The ryot could understand the process as soon as the patta was given to him. He had the advantage of knowing at the beginning of the season, when he ploughed his land, the exact rent he was to pay. He knew the fixed rents of the different fields which he cultivated, he knew also the utmost limit of his rent not only for the present, but for every succeeding year, for it cannot be raised unless he took additional land and was thereby enabled to provide for the regular discharge of his revenue demands.²⁴

Land Survey and Assessment

During 1802-1807 Munro concluded a survey of the entire Ceded Districts. Though it is said to be not so good as the

modern cadastral survey, it yielded good results. Parties of six to ten surveyors headed by an Inspector measured all land, roads, sites of towns and villages, beds of tanks and rivers, wastes and forests. Names and numbers were assigned to all cultivable fields. They used a standard measure, a chain of 33 feet. Four square chains made an acre.²⁵

The assessors followed them, two for each area measured by ten surveyors. Accompanied by the headman, Karnam and the ryots, the surveyor went to the fields and classified them according to quality. Wet lands were sub-divided into five or six classes, and dry lands into eight or ten classes. The classification was based on local opinion. The work of the assessors was supervised by head assessors.²⁶ The classification was then examined in the Collector's Office in the presence of the ryots, patels and karnams. The total resources of the district was first of all fixed. This was done by comparing the collections under previous rulers and the company's first year. The estimates were arrived at after taking into consideration the opinions of the inhabitants, the local assessment as the basis of prevailing standards. The assessment of the whole district was fixed and then the assessment of each village was examined. Remissions were granted where necessary and this loss was made good in prosperous villages. In all other villages, the classification of the head assessor was confirmed and the rent of each class of class of field was determined. Then the rents were registered. If any fields were reported to be over-assessed, they were examined at the end of the year in the presence of the principal ryots and the necessary modifications effected.²⁷ By 1802 Munro settled the assessment of 2,08,918 independent farmers and gave them 'cows', or engagements.²⁸ The collections amounted to 14,13,614 star pagodas which showed an increase of 29,100 pagodas over the previous year.²⁹ Munro thought that since the peasants were impoverished, they should not have been pressed so hard to maximise revenue collections.³⁰ There was thus a remarkable increase in revenue, and the extent of cultivation increased in 1804 and 1805 on account of favourable seasonal rains.³¹

Meanwhile the Court of Directors were thinking in terms of introducing the triennial village lease as a step towards the permanent settlement. The Collectors were instructed to report on the merits of the respective systems they considered best for their district.³² Munro who had been acknowledged by this time as an authority on Ryotwari system expressed his views strongly on this question. He believed that the abandonment of the Ryotwari system, which was based on the customs and traditions of the people, would be disastrous. He offered his views in his letter dated 25 August 1805. He argued that the institution of marriage and the custom of equal division of land among all the sons in the family, precludes the practicability of creating large estates.³⁴ The chronic poverty of the ryots, their flight from place to place in search of favourable tenures, lack of agricultural stock and the absence of rich peasants - all these circumstances, he said, ruled out the success of the village settlements.³⁵ He wrote that the head inhabitants, would not help the poorer peasants to extend and improve agriculture, nor would they assist them with advances or share with them the remissions granted by the Government. Further these headmen were in the habit of squeezing heavy perquisites and oppressing the peasants from habit and custom.³⁶ The creation of large estates might reduce the expenses of collection, but it would not be equal to the additional revenue derived from the ryotwari system. While the default and failure of a large estate holder would diminish the revenue considerably, the individual peasants would soon recover from their seasonal failures by reducing their seasonal failures by reducing their farms, if necessary. Therefore the direct settlement with individual peasants, he urged, should be preferred in the larger interests of the state and society.³⁷ He further stated that the ryots should be allowed to take up as much land as their resources permitted or to throw up land according to their circumstances. He suggested a reduction of 25 per cent in the survey assessment and 30 per cent of the assessment on the cultivation of waste lands. He proposed that every ryot should be given perpetual ownership of the land as long as he paid the customary assessment.³⁸ This procedure

of settlement would make land saleable in about twenty to twenty-five years.

The Debate on the Ryotwari System

In May 1806 the Madras Government sent a questionnaire to several Collectors for their opinions on the practicability of a permanent ryotwari settlement. In his reply dated 20 June 1806, Munro stated that a permanent settlement with the ryots would be practicable only after lands became saleable and the creation of private property in land would be a great benefit to the ryots. If the village headman became a zamindar or mootahdar, he would monopolise the right of possession and deprive the cultivators of their customary rights. If an outsider became a zamindar over the village, even the headmen would be oppressed, and agricultural production would suffer. The degradation of headmen and the ryots in this manner would have disastrous consequences on the progress of agriculture in particular, and the economy of the people in general. The Zamindari system would lead to the concentration of land in a few hands. The great majority of the ryots would have no property in land and would be reduced to serfdom. A few rich individuals, he stated, would not contribute to the agricultural wealth of the country as much as the numerous independent ryots with a stake in their own land. As 'Muttadhar' or farmer of revenue was more interested in his profits, he would increase the assessment, with little regard for the capacity of the cultivator. He therefore vehemently opposed the conversion of the headman into Mootahdars or contractors, because they did not have resources even to cultivate their own fields without monetary advances from the Government and therefore they could not be expected to help the ryots to improve or extend their farms³⁹

Lord William Bentinck in his Minute dated 22 January 1806, gave his powerful support to Thomas Munro. He wrote that the creation of Zamindars where no zamindars existed was not politically wise; nor would it help ameliorate the conditions of the poor ryots. His views were reinforced by the experience

in those districts where zamindars were created. Those Mootahdars grossly mismanaged their estates or they were sold for arrears ⁴⁰ In most of the zamindari areas, the Mootahdars, demonstrated all the paraphernalia of an oriental oligarch to meet their inflated expenditure, and blackmailed the peasants for increased payment resulting in the flight of the peasants and in the ruin of agriculture ⁴¹ In his minute of 29 April 1806 Bentinck observed that the Bengal system would not suit the conditions in Madras

But the argument in favour of a permanent Zamindari settlement was carried on by Hodgson of the Board of Revenue in his Minute of 1806 ⁴² He argued that the proprietors of large estates would evince greater interest in the improvement of agriculture since they would have large capital for investment in land, better knowledge of the soil and circumstances of the ryot. He believed they would collect a fair rent from the ryots as they would be aware of the condition of the peasants. The landlord, in his own interest, would not press the ryot to the extent of pauperisation, and there would always be that mutual confidence between them. Thus the relations between the vexatious government officer and the peasants. He concluded that the creation of a class of land-lords was essential for the prosperity of the society.⁴³

After his tour of the Ceded districts, Thackeray, a member of the Board of Revenue, in his report submitted on 4 August 1807⁴⁴ concluded that the small ryots would ultimately improve the lands and contribute to the revenue much more than the temporary mootahdar or zamindar. He pointed out that the government would control the waste lands and regulate its distribution among ryots who had the resources for extension of cultivation. A permanent ryotwari system, according to him, would augment the revenues, extend agriculture, and provide security of tenure to the ryots. On the other hand, dependence on Mootahdars would reduce the administration of revenue to a gamble and lottery ⁴⁵

As the debate was going on Munro reported at the beginning of 1807 the completion of the survey. In his final report on 15

August 1807, he reiterated his faith in the small peasant and the possibility of the peasant becoming prosperous under the ryotwari system. On the otherhand, the zamindar would not only be a menace to tranquillity and good government, but also a drag on agricultural improvements and economic well-being in general. He maintained that the government should retain in its hands all unoccupied land and regulate its distribution to augment the revenue. Munro calculated that the ryotwari system would fetch 11, 15, 608 pagodas while the village system would fetch 10, 24, 050 pagodas. He said that the increase would be due to improvement of agriculture, reclamation of foresh lands covering an area of three million acres and utilisation of waste lands for cultivation. He argued that such an improvement would be possible provided that a remission of 25% on the survey rate assessment was allowed on all lands, and an additional reduction of 8% on land watered by wells. The peasant should have the freedom to throw up or occupy more land every year. He forecast that the Ceded districts would yield 18 lakhs of pagodas in course of time under the ryotwari system. The principles on which he reiterated the ryotwari settlement are given below

- 1 The settlement shall be ryotwar
- 2 The amount of the settlement shall increase and decrease according to the extent of the land in cultivation
- 3 A reduction of twenty five per cent on all land shall be made in the survey rate of assessment.
- 4 An additional reduction of eight per cent or thirty three per cent in all shall be allowed on all lands watered by wells or by water raised by machinery from rivers . provided the cultivators keep the wells or embankments in repair at their own expense. A similar reduction shall be allowed on the lands watered by small tanks whenever the cultivators agree to bear the expense of repairs

5. Every ryot shall be at liberty at the end of every year to throw up a part of his land or to occupy more according to his circumstances; but whether he throw up or occupy, shall not be permitted to select but shall take proportional share of the good and bad together.
6. Every ryot, as long as he pays the rent of his land, shall be considered as the complete owner of the soil, and shall be at liberty to let it to a tenant without any hesitation and to rent and to see it as he pleases.
7. No remissions shall be made on ordinary occasions, for bad crops or other accidents. Should failures occur which cannot be made good from the property or land of the defaulters, the villages in which they happen, shall be liable for them to the extent of the ten per cent, additional on the rent of the remaining ryots but no further.
8. All unoccupied land shall remain in the hands of the government and rent of whatever part of it may be hereafter cultivated shall be added to the public revenue.⁴⁶

Commenting on the masterly minutes of Munro of 15 August 1807, and 8 February 1804 Beaglehole observes :

These two reports amount to far more than a plan for a system of revenue settlement : they reflect both Munro's experiences and his conservatism in his emphasis that the social habits and political institutions existing in the districts should form the basis of any revenue settlement and of judicial system. It was not the conservatism however of stubborn ignorance or of self-satisfied vested interest but of informed sympathy, of a paternalism, both autocratic and romantic.

Interlude of Village Settlements

The Committee of the House of Commons in their Fifth Report expressed their concurrence with and in support of the Ryotwari settlement on the ground that "it has greatly improved the situation of the cultivator by limiting the bounds of the public assessment and adjusting the actual demand on each person according to his ability to satisfy....so favourable a change in their condition has necessarily excited a confidence among the ryots in the equity and justice of the Company's government"⁴⁸

Soon after Munro left Madras in 1807, there was rethinking on the part of the Board of Revenue in regard to the efficacy of the ryotwari system, and they convinced the Home Government about the need for switching over to the village settlements. According to this system the assessment was to be fixed on the entire aggregate of lands in the village settlements and not on each separate field. The village community was to be given the right to assess and collect the revenue from all arable lands, and to pay a lumpsum to the government. In other words, the internal administration of the village community was left to the village panchayat. The peasants would come to an agreement with the collector collectively to pay the revenue in a lumpsum to the Government. This settlement was initially made for three years and later converted into a decennial settlement.⁴⁹ The object of the new system was stated to be the engrafting of the revenue administration to the ancient institutions and usages of the country.⁵⁰ It would obviate the necessity of the laborious process of assessing every small holding, with due regard to the varied fertility of the soil, without discrimination. The village settlement would not place the peasants "bound hand and foot at the mercy of unscrupulous Tahsildars"⁵¹ The leading member of the Board of Revenue, Hodgson, whose acquaintance with the district of Tanjore convinced him about the advantages of the village settlement, argued that the corporate life of the village should not be disturbed by the administrator in his zeal to reform the land tenures and to maximise the revenue collections on the basis of dubious estimates of gross revenue

receipts In a district like Tanjore the mirasdars had been accustomed to settling the revenue with the revenue officers of the state. He proposed that the village system might be made the foundation of a workable land revenue system and the settlement might be made on the average produce or the average collection of each village over the previous years. And the right of collecting government share of each crop could be conveniently leased to the principal inhabitants, for a few years to start with, and then the settlement would be made permanent. Where there was no corporate body of mirasdars, the lease could be given to the headmen. Hodgson believed that the village settlement would stimulate the habit of village self government which the ryotwari system was likely to undermine. He pointed out that all collectors would not be incorruptible and honest like Munro and experience had shown that their Indian agency was by tradition highhanded, extortionate and venal and under a slack and corrupt collector, the ryotwari system would give them ample opportunity and the government would be condemned for their misdeeds. And further the village system would considerably reduce the administrative expenditure on that account, when the task of assessment and collection would be left to the village headman or the panchayat.⁵²

Referring to Munro's proposal for a reduction of 25 per cent on the assessment, the Board of Revenue observed "that the less we take from the cultivator of the produce of his labour, the more flourishing must be his condition....if they cannot at once confer the boon of private property they must be content to establish a private interest in the soil as effectively as they can under the farming system, if they cannot afford to give up the land lord's rents they must be indulgent landlords".⁵³ The Board of Revenue thought that the ryotwari settlement had expropriated the peasants of their land, for whenever there was default in paying the revenue, the land escheated to the government, and failure to cultivate the land also resulted in the same consequences. Whatever the form of the central government, the internal management remained in the hands of the peasants under the leadership of the headman who was their collector, magistrate and headfarmer.⁵⁴ After the Madras

government went ahead with the triennial settlement and after the three year lease, they proposed the Decennial settlement.⁵⁵ The Court of Directors charged the Board of Revenue with having acted without proper authorisation, and ordered that "in all provinces that may be unsettled when the despatch shall reach you the principle of the ryotwari settlement as it is termed shall be acted upon and where the village rents upon any other principle shall have been established the leases shall be declared terminable at the expiration of the period for which, they have been granted." ⁵⁶

In their letter dated 6 March 1813 the Government of Madras protested and argued that as a question of fiscal policy, it was reasonable to restrict the demands of the Government upon the landed property with a view to improving and extending agriculture, and to give the mass of the people a deep and permanent interest in the stability of government. In the next year, the Madras Government made another eloquent appeal to the Court of Directors to consider the feasibility of extending the village settlement pointing out that the mass of the peasants must be protected against a fraudulent measurement on the estimation of land by officers who had no immediate interest in the property. They pleaded that the government should repose confidence in the village community and "the people should be left to improve the country in their own way without the encumbrance of useless and illjudged aid from public officers and without the dread of this oppression and rapacity" ⁵⁷ The Collector of Bellary informed the Board of Revenue in a letter dated 15 November 1809 that he could not immediately embark upon the triennial lease settlement especially because the ryots had undergone much suffering during the last two years of drought. So the Bellary settlement had to be Ryotwari which had been advantageous from the point of view of the previous years' collection.⁵⁸ The Collector of North Arcot raised an objection that the interests of the great body of cultivators would be sacrificed in favour of a few influential individuals ⁵⁹ Similarly the Collector of Cuddapah wanted to postpone the village

settlement due to the reluctance of the inhabitants to become renters and the severity of the drought in 1806.⁶⁰

The village settlement encountered difficulties in the Nellore district also mainly due to the poverty of the people and the default of the renters. The Collector of South Arcot reported about the oppression of the renters. In the Ceded districts the renters were too poor and the ryots had to flee their home lands unable to bear the rapacity and tyranny of the of the renters.⁶¹

"If the judgment may be based on the reports of the collectors the village lease system in Madras was not a success. The Board seemed to have a totally unwarranted complacency about the lease systemThe problems of land tenure needed to be looked at straight rather than through the prism of an abstract faith in some particular system.....It is interesting to note that the ryotwari system was advocated by a set of persons actually in charge of collection and grappling with the day to day problems of administration."⁶²

When Sir Thomas Munro was appointed governor of Madras in May 1820, it was symbolic of the triumph of the principles of land revenue administration advocated by him during the previous twenty five years. The Board of Revenue, in its letter to government dated 18 March 1832, publicly acknowledged the the disastrous failure of the village and upheld the profitability, and the feasibility of the ryotwari system.⁶³

Even after years of indefatigable efforts in the organisation of revenue administration, Sir Thomas Munro entered upon his tasks as Governor of Madras with a deep sense of humility and a feeling of inadequacy regarding his knowledge of the country and its people. In his comprehensive minute dated 31 December 1824 he wrote :

We feel our ignorance of Indian Revenue system and the difficulties arising from it ; and instead of seeking to remedy it by acquiring more knowledge, we endeavour to get rid of the difficulty by precipitately making permanent settlements, which relieve us from the troublesome

task of minute or accurate investigation, and which are better adapted to perpetuate our ignorance than to protect the people,"⁶⁴

He was opposed to hasty declaration of policy lest injustice might be done to the people — "lest we give to one class what belongs to another." A patient study of the nature and resources of the country was essential to build up such a system as may advance the prosperity of the country. He insisted that a fair and moderate assessment of the public revenue would lead to the "comfort" and happiness of the people "⁶⁵

These humane ideas reflected the utilitarian philosophy of his time, when the air in England was surcharged with the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity. The doctrine of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" was the central principle of the utilitarian philosophers and liberal reformers. He was concerned about the defence of the landed property of the smallest ryot, the actual tiller of the soil, against the protagonists of the zamindars, poligars and petty princes, who in the Northern Sarkars and elsewhere, were allowed to retain in their possession large districts, and also extensive fields of which they had been until recently merely tax collectors on behalf of whoever the sovereign of the territory.

The modern zamindars of the Northern Sarkars whom the Company allowed to retain the districts which they had rented or managed under their native sovereigns and the old Hill Rajahs of that country, form no exception, as they were in fact petty princes, in whose districts the land was in the hands of small occupants, as in those sarkar.⁶⁶

He therefore exhorted his countrymen not to be led away by fanciful theories of land ownership founded on European models but to recognise the fact that the cultivated land was the property of the small peasant who had been tiling it for generations. The creation of zamindars was, in his opinion, based on extreme ignorance of the state of landed property and the rights

of the ryots. To suppose that the Zamindars were land lords or proprietors, and the ryots their under tenants or labourers or that the sovereign was the land lord and the ryots merely cultivating tenants, was a conception foreign to the agrarian relations of India. He asserted "The ryot is the real proprietor, for whatever land does not belong to the sovereign belongs to him" ⁴⁷ The demand for public revenue directly affected the share of the ryot in production whether the ryot could retain the profit of his stock, or a small surplus representing the landlord's rent, "he is still the true proprietor, and possesses all that is not claimed by the sovereign as revenue" ⁴⁸

In places where the ryotwari system was not introduced the Zamindars and Mootahdars, taking advantage of the permanent zamindari settlement, occupied large tracts of cultivable land and declared them as their hereditary personal possessions depriving the actual tillers of the soil of their means of livelihood.

"The Zamindar is often the former patel or head ryot of the village' but he is frequently some petty shop keeper or merchant or some adventurer or public servant out of employ, whichever of these he is, he has usually very little property; he has none for the improvement of the village but on the contrary, looks to the villages as the means of improving his own circumstances" ⁴⁹

By the system of auctioning blocks of villages as Mootahs, or small zamindaries, to the highest bidder, the Madras Government sacrificed the interests of the peasants and entrusted the welfare and prosperity of the villages to underserved hands, because the Mootahdars had no other object except to squeeze the maximum share of production from the ryots, leaving the barest minimum for the subsistence. They ryots were thereby reduced to the status of under-tenants and potential labourers, and their inherent rights over the soil usurped by upstarts and parasites, who by hook or crook became landlords. The peasant's

ancient rights were now the property at the expense of theirs, who seeks by every way however unjustifiable, to get into his own hands all the best lands of the village and whose situation affords him many facilities in depriving the ancient possessors of them" 70 When money-lenders, merchants, speculators and farmers of revenue entered the business of revenue management owing to the ignorance of the Board of Revenue about the rights of village communities and of the ryots and their unseemly haste in simplifying revenue administration, the ryots frequently combined to compel the new landlords to give up his farm and retire from the field, unable to withstand the compulsions of an unnatural situation. The system also led to frequent flight of peasants from their ancient habitations, leaving the village a desert and consequently agricultural production suffered an irreparable loss. "the oppression of the new zamindar caused many villages which were flourishing and moderately assessed to revert to the Circar from inability to pay the assessment" 71

"If after making such a fixed assessment, perfect freedom were given to the ryots to throw up whatever land they did not want, they would throw up about one-fifth of their land and thereby diminish the revenue in the same proportion. But this diminution would only be temporary because as the ryots by concentrating their agricultural stock upon a similar extent of land, would gradually, increase and enable them to take and cultivate again the land which they had relinquished" 72

Munro firmly believed that a fixed moderate assessment would make land a saleable property, and in course of time increase the extent of cultivation and the quantity of agricultural production. Such a measure would assure the state a large income.

The permanent system of the zamindari settlement in the Northern Sarkars had thrown the numerous ryots at the mercy

of the zamindar, who could vary the assessment every year leaving the ryot no more than the cost of labour and stock, but seldom a land lord's rent. The law Courts would not help the ryot against the zamindar's capacity, for, the ryot knows that

"the influence of the zamindar would easily procure witnesses to swear falsely on the question of usage, and that they would be supported by the fabricated accounts of the karnam who is entirely under the authority of the zamindar, and even if the ryot won his case contrary to all these unfavourable factors it would still be difficult for him to get on, as the zamindar, without transgressing any law, would be able to harass him in many ways, and make his situation uncomfortable." 73

There was therefore no prospect of landed property growing up among the highly assessed zamindari ryots until the zamindars themselves could be compelled by the sovereign government to lower the assessment. It is common knowledge that large numbers of these independent ryots were reduced to the status of tenants and undertenants and the process was halted only by the modern tenancy legislation. The peasants lost their lands and became agricultural labourers. The new zamindaries themselves broke up due to the customary division among heirs and failures in their payments. These villages or blocks of villages would revert to the Government, and ryots would after many vicissitudes come under the immediate jurisdiction of the government. Thus the permanent settlement of large tracts of land failed as Munro had forecast. The ryotwari system became an inevitable substitute in thousands of villages. Munro explained that the ryotwari system was the indigenous system like the term itself.

"In revenue language it means a settlement with the individual ryot who owns or occupies the land and receiving the public assessment from him without the intervention of any renter or zamindar. Whether the assessment be a fixed rent in kind, or computed

for money, or a fixed or varying money rent it makes no difference, it is still ryotwari”⁷⁴

Munro favours the participation of Indians in Local Administration. When the principles of revenue management had been decided upon and implemented, Munro posed the very important question as to who should be entrusted with the tasks of actual administration. Cornwallis had already laid down the imperial dictum that Indian personnel could not be relied upon to carry out these tasks efficiently and honestly. The revenue system as well as the judicial reform of Cornwallis had however come under strong criticism in England.

When he came to Madras as Special Commissioner during 1814-18 for the revision of the Madras judicial system, he had developed a deep respect for the indigenous institutions, especially the village panchayats and the customary practices of the villagers. He believed that the Indian ryot would prefer justice at the hands of his village elders, who from time immemorial decided all disputes without least delay and expense to the ryot. Munro wrote four years before the Fifth Report (1808).

“The judicial code ought undoubtedly to be amended so as to return to heads of villages their ancient jurisdiction in petty causes to make all causes of importance be decided by panchayats or native juries, to throw as much as possible of the administration of justice into the hands of intelligent natives instead of confining it to European judges who can seldom be qualified to discharge the duty and to reunite the office of magistrate to that of collector.”⁷⁵

The commission headed by him made regulations and submitted them to the government on 25 April 1816. The first regulation declared the head inhabitants of villages to be munsiffs of their respective villages and to decide civil suits to a limited extent. The second regulation favoured the revival of the village panchayats under the leadership of the headman. The

trial by panchayat, an ancient Indian institution as it is known had always decided the village disputes. The panchayat consisting of caste elders and others, about eleven in number, would decide all litigations arising out of land and land revenue. A third regulation defined the powers of the district munsiffs while the fourth authorised them to meet the district panchayats, on "the principle of employing the better informed inhabitants generally in the administration of justice." The fifth regulation provided for the employment of Indian law officers of the provincial courts to act as native commissioners to hear cases referred by the zillah judges. The sixth regulation proposed the settlement of village boundaries by the collector by assembling a panchayat. Lastly the police under the Tahsildars, the village police under the headmen, thus integrating the police superintendents with the revenue administration.

Munro was the first British administrator to perceive the rationale of employing Indians extensively in the local administration of the country. He argued that Indians possessed necessary qualifications for the discharge of administrative duties. They were intimately connected with tradition and customs, mores and morals, of their people, and were better accountants qualifications which could be of great value to the business of administration. He asked in the best tradition of paternalism and liberalism then current in England." With what grace can we talk of our paternal government if we exclude them (Indians) from every important office(while) we profess to seek their improvement but propose means the most adverse to success."¹⁶ He was confident that Indians would acquire, given the necessary encouragement and support, all the necessary knowledge of arts and sciences : but such knowledge would help them only if they were treated with honour in public employment "so as to make them worthy of deserving the highest situation". Even as a practical measure it was necessary to associate Indians with the administration. He said ;

.....the preservation of our domain in this country (India) requires that all the high offices, civil and

military, should be filled with Europeans : but all offices that can be left in the hands of natives, without danger to our own power, might with advantage be left to them.⁷⁷

He was convinced that India gained much from the British conquest by way of peace, tranquillity, regular revenue administration and rule of law. But it ought to be the responsibility of British rule not "to leave the people more abject and less able to govern themselves than we found them"⁷⁸ While he was not envisaging the liberties of the people and looked forward to a long period of British sovereignty, he was of the view that "they should leave the natives so far improved from their connection with the British as to be capable of maintaining a free, or at least a regular government, amongst themselves."⁷⁹

All the strands of imperialism, paternalism, and liberalism, characteristic of the age of utilitarian philosophy, were woven into the fabric of Munro's conception of administrative reforms in India. The following passage from the Munro's minute of 24 December 1824 is an epitome of British Policy during the next century towards India.

We should look upon India not as a temporary possession, but as one which is to be maintained permanently until the natives shall in some future age have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices, and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves and to conduct and preserve it. Whenever such time shall arrive, it will probably be best for both countries that the British Control over India should be gradually withdrawn.... We shall see no reason to doubt that, if we pursue steadily the proper measures, we shall in time so far improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves.⁸⁰

NOTES

- 1 *Cuddapah District Gazetteer*, Appendix
- 2 *Fifth Report II* 84, 104
- 3 *Fifth Report II*, pp 89-91
- 4 *Ibid*, pp 91-98,
- 5 *Ibid*
- 6 *Cuddapah Gazetteer*, p 9 (Madras 1875)
- 7 *Ibid*
- 8 Munro to Webb, January 1801, Gleig *Op Cit*, 3:24
9. Munro to Government, 14 March 1801
- ,, 31 April 1801
- ,, 27 March 1801
- ,, 1 April 1801
- Munro to Webb, 6 April 1801
- 10 Government to Campbell, 3 April 1801, Munro to Board of Revenue, 22 February 1805, 4 March 1805.
- 11 Campbell to Government 10 May 1801 Munro to Government, 20 March 1802
- 12 *Cuddapah District Gazetteer*, p 113
- 13 Munro to Government, 8 January 1802
14. Revenue Despatches to Madras, 10 April 1804.
- 15 Revenue Despatches to Madras, 10 April 1804.
- 16 *Ibid*
- 17 Munro's instructions to assistants, 31 December 1800.
- 18 Munro to Wellesley, 10 July 1802
- 19 Revenue Despatches to England, 17 February 1802 General reports of the Board, 30 January 1802, Vol 7 9, p 160
- 20 Munro to Wellesly 10 July 1802
- 21 *Ibid*
- 22 Munro's report, 30 November 1806 para 1 Board's consultation, Nos. 34-35 5 January 1807
- 23 Board's Revenue Consultations Nos 34-35 5 January 1807. paras 5-7.
- 24 *Board's Consultation*, Nos 34-35 5 January 1807, paras 9.
- 25 *Munro's Report*, 26 July 1807
- 26 *Ibid*
27. *Board's Consultations*, Nos 21-22 24 August 1807. paras 6-7
28. Revenue Despatches to England, Vol 8 23 March 1804, p 62-63.
29. *Ibid*.
30. Munro to Cockburn, 5 September 1802.

31. *Board's Consultations*, 20 June 1805 and 16 June 1806
32. *Board's Consultations*, 27 December 1804
33. *Board's Consultations*, 26 September 1805
34. Munro to Board, 25 August 1805
35. Munro to Board 25 August 1806 *Board's Consultations*, 26 September 1805
36. *Ibid*
37. *Ibid*
38. *Ibid*
39. Minute dated 30 November 1806 *The Fifth Report* II p 204
40. Parliamentary papers House of Commons Papers (1831 32) David Hills evidence, 16 March 1832
41. Dubois, Abbe, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* pp 80 97
42. *Fifth Report* Vol II, p 470
43. *Ibid*
44. *Ibid*, p 362
45. *Ibid*
46. Munro to the Board of Revenue, 15 August 1807
47. Beaglehole, *Op Cit* p 79
48. *Fifth Report*, cited in J W Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, p 221
49. *Madras Revenue Selections* Minute of the Madras Board of Revenue. 5 January 1818
50. *Ibid*
51. Kaye, *Op Cit* p 223
52. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol 5 p 472
53. Board's Letter dated 25, May 1808
54. Board's Letter dated 25 April 1808
55. Board's Letter dated 25 February 1812
56. Letter dated 16 December 1812

At this time the different districts of the Madras Presidency were subject to three different systems. In Ganjam, Visakhapatnam, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Guntur, Salem, Chengalput, the Cuddalore district and the Western, Southern and Chittoor pollams, the permanent zamindari system prevailed. In Malabar, Canara, Coimbatore, Madura and Dindigul the Ryotwari system was in force. In the Ceded Districts, Nellore the two divisions of Arcot, Palnad, Trichinopoly, Tiruvannamalai and Tanjore, the village system had been introduced (Kaye *Op Cit.* p 224).

- 57 Letter dated 12th August, 1811
- 58 *General Report of the Board* January 12, 1812. Vol. 15, p 66.
59. *North Arcot District Records.*, 20 July 1808, Vol. 10, pp. 82-89.
60. Revenue Despatches from Madras, Feb. 6, 1810
61. *General Report*, 11 February 1811, Vol. 16. p 44.
- 62 N Mukherji, *The Ryotwari System in Madras*, (Calcutta 1862) p. 87.
63. *Revenue Consultations*, 25 February 1833, Vol 187, p 714.
64. Gleig, G R. *Life of Sir Thomas Munro* (London 1830) Vol 3 p 133.
65. *Ibid*
- 66 *Ibid* , p 321
- 67 *Ibid* , p 340
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid* , pp 341-42.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
- 71 *Ibid* , p. 342.
72. *Ibid* , p. 347.
- 73 *Ibid* , p 351.
- 74 *Ibid* , p. 353.
75. *Munro on the Judicial system*, 10 September, 1808.
- 76 Minute, 31 December 1824, Gleig p. 358.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid* , p 360.
- 79 *Ibid* , pp. 383-7
- 80 Gleig. *Op. Cit* , Vol. 3, p. 388.

NEW LIGHT ON THE TENALI BOMB CASE (1909)

M MUNI RATNAM

In the begining of 1909, the political atmosphere in Andhra was clouded with the violent speeches of Swadeshi preachers, circulation of seditious pamphlets and leaflets and instructions for preparation of bombs.

In such an atmosphere a bomb exploded near Tenali (Guntur District.) The exact location of the explosion of the bomb was a mile away from Kancharlapalem, half a mile from Thelaprolu and one mile from Kattevaram and three miles away from Tenali.

Findings :

The Vettian or village servant of Kancharlapalem, Nagadu was going from his house to Tenali at about 9-00 A. M. on 27th March, 1909. He discovered a corpse lying in the Nandivelugu canal with several injuries, and that in the neighbourhood he found a pit containing an iron plate, with a nipple at the top, a tin tube, glass pieces, burnt rags, etc. He reported the matter to the village munsif of Kancharlapalem. In turn the village munsif sent the following message to the Tenali Police Station : "In Taliprolidonka to the left of Nandivelugu canal lying to the west of Kancharlapalem was found an iron plate with a nipple resembling a gun's nipple buried in a small hole. Near that, the following articles were also found :

- 1) Round iron plate, (2) one tin tube with a cover Round the pit were found burnt rags, pieces of glasses scattered. To the south of the pit was found the corpse of a male lying across the Nandivelugu canal

The investigation should be made at once." The village report brought by the Vettian reached the police station at 3-40 P. M. on 27th March, 1909. The Head Constable, Ranga Rao, proceeded to the spot and reached the scene at 4-30 P.M. He held an inquest in the presence of 5 persons. The person who was dead was about 30 years old name and residence were not known, height 5' 6", dark in appearance with oval face and thinly built. The people who were present at the inquest could not identify the corpse and the panchayatdars returned a verdict that death was due to the explosion of some explosive which was kept there either by the deceased himself or by some one. The village munsif of Kancharlapalem and the head constable shared the same opinion. The latter sent the corpse to postmortem examination on the evening of 27th March, 1909. The stationary magistrate of Tenali witnessed the spot while the inquest was being held. The first grade Head Constable tried to find out the relatives of the deceased but without success. The corpse was buried on 28th March, 1909.

Facts as revealed in the investigation :

On 29th March, 1909, it was found out that the deceased was Nannem Chinnadu, who belonged to Nandivelugu village. As the corpse was buried on a day before, the body was exhumed under the orders of local stationary magistrate and the body was identified by Nannem Chennagadu and Nannem Venkadu who were father and brother of the deceased respectively. The former also stated that his son left the house on the morning of 27th March, 1909 and did not return home and he could not say that it was done by any miscreants for revenge and they had no enemies.

The acting Inspector, Kasimkhan, who was at Chandole on 28th March, 1909 was ordered by an express letter to investigate

the matter and he arrived on the scene on 29th March, 1909. Besides, the Deputy Superintendent of Police incharge of Ongole sub-division and the District Superintendent of Police arrived on 29th & 30th respectively. Despite the efforts of all the above Officers no clue of any value was obtained regarding the persons connected with the explosion of bomb till 2nd April, 1909.

On 2nd April, 1909 a constable brought information that two Brahmin young men got a tin tube made at the shop of Janga Subbarayudu some time back. On the same day when Janga Subbarayudu was examined by the police officials he said that fifteen days back two young Bramins brought a tin tube made saying that it was intended for a syringe, and the thin tube shown to him was the same made by him. On the evening of the same day the houses of five Brahmins of Kattevaram village were searched and the police found in the house of Lakkaraju Basavayya some papers connected with the Swadeshi preachings and also a post card dated 27th March, 1909 which was posted to Kattevaram. The wordings of the post card were as follows. "On the morning of my arrival I fell asleep since I did the duty of a sentinel on the day before" The suspicion became more because Lakkaraju Basavayya was the man who posted some seditious leaflets from Tenali to the addresses of his friends at Bapatla and the proceedings against him was pending in another case. When the houses of Gollamudi Vasudeva Brahmayya and Kotamraju Venkatrayudu were searched the police found some papers connected with the Swadeshi movement and Congress reports. Lakkaraju Basavayya and Kotamraju Venkatrayudu were arrested at 2-00 P. M. on 3rd April, 1909 and on the same day Mukkamala Subba Rao was arrested at Guntur under the orders of the Deputy Superintendent of Police. An identification parade was held in the presence of the Deputy Superintendent of Police and the Sub-Magistrate. Janga Subbarayudu identified Lakkaraju Basavayya and Kotamraju Venkatrayudu as the men who got the tin tube made by him.

On the evening of 3rd April, 1909, a resident of Tenali by name Kottamal Subbarayudu chanced to ask a constable in the

streets of Tenali what had happened in the bomb case and what a bomb was like. Kottamul Subbarayudu then said that he had seen a blacksmith of Tenali making an iron plate with nipple for a man about ten days before.

On 4th April, 1909 Sanyasi Nayudu, Deputy Superintendent of Police, C. I. D., was ordered to investigate into the affair and he came to Tenali next morning.

When examined by the C. I. D., the blacksmith by name Sampathi Rajagopalaram gave a statement to the effect that a man came to him and asked him to do some iron work. And the man requested him again and again, drew a diagram on the ground and wanted the blacksmith to make an iron plate of that description. When the blacksmith said that he could not follow, the man, left the shop and returned within half an hour with a clay model of the following description.

The man also brought to the blacksmith an iron plate of one & half an inch in breadth & quarter an inch thickness and the plate was a foot long. The man asked to shape the iron plate with a nipple on the top with a thin pole. The blacksmith undertook the work and finished the same in the evening and he was paid one rupee by that man for the above work. The blacksmith said that he could identify the man who was about 35 years old, having a beard, fair, medium built and tall and who belonged to Kattavaram. At the time of making the plate, his brother Venkayya, a hammer man called Dastagiri, a mason by name Venkataswamy and the merchant Subbarayudu were present. The two broken pieces shown to the blacksmith were identified as the implement that he made and he said that the nipple was the top portion of it and the other was the side of the piece. He further said there must be another side piece. The blacksmith could clearly identify the nipple, as the one made by him.

The Dy. S.P., C.I.D., and the local Dy. S.P. went to Kattavaram village first and enquired the man of the description

given by the blacksmith. The people of that village appeared to be very reticent. The local Dy. S. P. visited Kancharlapalem and made enquiries but he also came with the same disappointment. The police officers decided to parade all the adult males of the two villagers on the next day morning and ordered the village munsifs to prepare lists and make men ready for the parade

On the morning of 6th April, 1909 the Dy. S. P. Guntur also joined the investigation team and accompanied the other two police officers to Kattevaram and Kancharlapalem. The police officers also took from Tenali, Kottamal Subbarayudu, the Merchant, Sampathi Raja Gopal Raju, the blacksmith, Dasthagir, Venkataswamy along with them for identification. At first all the adult males of Kamma & Telga castes of Kattevaram, more than hundred were paraded. The persons retd. above brought from Tenali said that the man in question was not among them. Then the officers went to Kancharlapalem where more than 130 people belonging to that village were paraded. As there were several people with beards, the police took the precaution to keep the witnesses at a distance quite out of view and all the witnesses picked out one man named Chukkapalli Rammayya S/o Narasayya, the man who got the iron plate made at the shop of the smith

Chukkapalli Romayya was arrested and he denied any knowledge of iron plate and said that he never got one made at the smith's shop. He further said that four months back he went to the shop of the smith and asked him to make a box. The smith consented to make one for 25 Rs. and received an advance of Rupees Ten. After some time he went to the shop, the smith demanded Rs 50/-. When questioned about the large sum there was hot discussion between him and the smith and Ramayya demanded the advance back. The smith denied that he had taken any advance. Owing to that, the smith had a grudge and was making a wrong identification.

The Dy. S. P. C I D. also examined the persons who were already arrested and put in Tenali Sub-Jail and they all denied

any knowledge of the bomb Lakkaraju Basavayya said that the bomb must have been made by the people of Kancharlapalem where there were two rival factions quarrelling for a long time and a rival party must have laid this to wreak its vengeance against some one of the other party, since at that time there were criminal cases pending in the court of the Second Class Magistrate of Tenali

After arresting Chukkapalli Ramayya, his house was searched and the police seized some clothes which were said to be similar to the rags used in the bomb The police also discovered a cloth which contained on one corner, a pocket of little quantity of some known powder of yellow colour and in another corner a pocket containing pink coloured powder Both these pockets were wrapped in small papers torn from a Congress Report Book. The Police claimed it as an important clue since burnt papers, remnants of the bomb were also found to be portions of a Congress Book

The Police further made enquiries of Chukkapalli Ramayya and came to know that he was in the habit of frequenting the home of Mannar Krishna Rao. The Dy. S P along with the Inspectors went to Nandivelugu Village on 7th April, 1909 and enquired Mannar Krishna Rao about Ramayya The former denied any connection with the latter but said to have been admitted that Ramayya used to come to him for enquiries regarding storing of paddy When the police searched the house of Mannar Krishna Rao they found nothing.

The Police, having learnt that Goli Chinna Ankanna and Goli Kotayya were the close friends of Ramayya, caught hold of them and obtained the statements Goli Chinna Ankanna gave the statement to the effect that Ramayya came to his house at about 10 p.m two days before the explosion of the bomb and called him to follow. Both of them went out side of the village when a Kattevaram Brahmin joined them. He seemed to be a young man but Ankanna said that he could not identify him as it was dark and there was no moonlight Then they went to

the spot where the bomb exploded. Ramayya had a crowbar with him and also had some thing like a *Manika* (measure) with tiny tube projecting from it. Ramayya held it with his extended hands and had the crowbar under his arm. While Ramayya was digging a pit, Kattevaram Brahmin and Ankanna kept watch at distance. After it was buried they left the place.

On 8th April, 1909 Kattevaram Ramudu could trace out the third piece of the iron plate and handed it over to the police who were re-inspecting the area. This third piece was found in a branch canal about 50 yards from the spot. The third piece when fitted to other pieces found on the day of explosion was the exact piece that was wanted and became the full iron plate in accordance with the statement of the blacksmith.

On 9th April, 1909 Goli Kotayya gave the statement to the effect that about eight days before the bomb explosion Ramayya came to his house and called him to accompany him. When they went out of the village, near the canal bank, Ramayya took out some thing like a *Manika* (measure) from his cloth, the bottom portion of which was wrapped with rags and jute rope. Ramayya dug out a pit with a small crowbar and after finishing the pit he placed the thing in it and buried it. There was about 2" of earth over it. Ramayya informed him that it was given by Kattevaram Brahmin boys for trying it. He offered to show the place. The police followed the witness to Kancharlapalem and then to the culvert near the tank. The place shown was a little shallow. Kotiah removed the earth with his fingers with great caution under the belief that the bomb was still there and in the loose earth removed from the pit the police officers discovered cowdung and straw pieces which showed that the pit was dug and covered up.

Even when confronted by the above witness, Ramayya denied any connection with the bomb. The police officers remarked that Ramayya was a man of very strong determination and was speaking to his fellow prisoners that he would rather go to gallows than making a statement involving anyone in the bomb affair and he was speaking philosophy in the sub-jail.

Thus the investigation referred to above led the police to presume that the bomb was made at Tenali by Chukkapalli Ramayya (a Kamma by caste) and his associates namely Lakkaraju Basavayya and Kotamraju Venkatrayudu (Young Brahmins of Kattevaram) who were leaders and came to the conclusion that that the tin tube forming the top portion of the bomb was also made at Tenali. The bottom portion of it which the witnesses described as resembling a measure might have been a sheet of iron in the measure shape sold in the bazars. The sides of the measure-like thing were shattered into pieces of different shapes and scattered all over the spot. Till the evidence of the smith was secured nobody knew that an ironplate of that shape was used. It was believed that the bomb was taken out of the original pit and placed in another pit showed that it was not capable of exploding unless it was roughly handled or any portion of it interfered with.

The Chemical examiner, Bombay revealed that the material used in the bomb was as follows :

The explosive probably consisted of Chlorate of Potash mixed with Sulphide Arsenic. Traces of the ingredients of such an explosive mixture were detected in all the exhibits. Further the colouration of the residue, the little damage done to the hole in which the bomb exploded and the size of the fragments that were recovered indicated that the explosive was of the nature of Chlorate of Potash mixed with Sulphide Arsenic.

Thus the police investigation was over and among five persons arrested two were released and the criminal case was filed against three persons namely, Lakkaraju Basavayya, Kotamraju Venkatrayudu and Chukkapalli Ramayya. This case came before E. H. Wallace, I. C. S., Additional Sessions Judge, Guntur and the trial commenced on 12th August, 1966.

Trial :

All the three persons pleaded not guilty of the charges. While T. Richmond, assisted by Seshalaiah Sastry, Public Prosec-

cutor of Kurnool appeared for the government, Tenguturi Prakasam assisted by Srinivasa Rao and Lakshmi Narasimhulu appeared for defence. Richmond contended the three persons committed the offences by manufacturing a bomb and placing the same at a place much frequented by people, knowing that it was likely to cause the death of any passer-by who might come in contact with it, and intending to cause death to such person. He gave all the other details of investigations already referred and in addition he said that Lakkaraju Basavayya circulated 'seditious' Pamphlates in November, 1908, in one of which the use of bombs had been advocated and further said that the exhortation contained in the above pamphlate was carried out in this case. When the Public Prosecutor proposed to ask the alleged connection of Lakkaraju Basavayya with the sedititious leaflets, Prakasam objected to the evidence going in, on the ground that it was irrelevant for the purposes of the present charges and the connection of Lakkaraju Basavayya with the dissemination of sedition had not yet been reduced to a legal certainty, as it formed the subject of a separate case. On the other hand Richmond contended that as the leaflet sent by Lakkaraju Basavayya advocated the manufacture and use of bombs, in the present case he actually carried into practice what he preached, the council was not precluded from showing that evidence. The judge overruled the objection and allowed the part of the document relevant to the manufacture and use of bombs. All the witnesses were examined and cross examined till 25th August, 1909 and the judge summed up the case to the assessors on 25th Aug. 1909 and their opinion was taken. Both the Assessors found that all the three were not guilty on all the charges. The Judge reserved the judgment till 30th August, 1909.

Judgement and Sentence

On 30th August, 1909 the judge delivered the following judgement .

Chakkapalli Ramayya was guilty under all the charges and sentenced him to be hanged as the, judge could find no extenua-

ting circumstances to mitigate his cold blooded crime. He acquitted the other two persons, as no case had been made out against them the evidence of single witness, the tin smith was not reliable and above suspicion

Appeal -

Chukkapalli Ramayya preferred an appeal in the Madras High Court. It was called for argument on 1st December, 1909 and concluded on 7th December, 1909 P. R. Sundara Iyer, appeared for the appellant while Richmond special Public Prosecutor argued in support of the conviction.

Judges Differ :

Justice Ralph Benson and Justice Abdul Rahim delivered two dissenting judgments in the case. Justice Ralph Benson in the course of judgment observed that he had no hesitation in confirming the conviction and sentence. Justice Abdul Rahim on the other hand held that the evidence indicates that the deceased met with his death probably while in the act of burying the bomb along with others. Under these circumstances the justice would reduce the sentence from 10 years transportation to 3 years R. I.

In consequence of this difference of opinion the case was ordered to be referred to the Chief Justice.

Final Judgement :

On 15th Feb. 1910 the Chief Justice delivered the following judgment in the case :

The Chief Justice agreed with Justice Abdul Rahim and set aside the convictions and sentences on the charges of murder and under Sec. 3 of the Explosive Act. As regards the propriety of the conviction under sec. 5 of the Indian Explosive Act, the Chief Justice observed that both the judges were agreed that the conviction was right. As regards the sentence the Chief

Justice did not take the view that Chukkapalli Ramayyn was an innocent tool in the hands of others and therefore considered that the sentence of 10 years transportation was not unduly severe. The Chief Justice accordingly confirmed the conviction and a sentence of 10 years transportation under sec. 5 of the Indian Explosives Act.

Conclusion :

Swadeshi Movement was an important phase of Indian Struggle for freedom during the beginning of this century and this Swadeshi cult was an important positive element introduced by the agitation against partition of Bengal in 1905.

Repressive Policy of the Government

In order to kill the new spirit which over took Bengal and Maharashtra in particular government followed a policy of severe repression throughout the country.

Terrorist Activity in Andhra :

There are evidences to show that some Bengalis toured Andhra during this period and contacted the extremists in Andhra and explained the methods of manufacturing bombs. One such instance is given in the Autobiography of A. Kaleswara Rao, who mentions a Bengali by name Sarkar came to Bezwada and Musilipatam. Some students who went for Medical Studies to Calcutta returned to Andhra with stolen pistols which were distributed. The police also got a report that a bomb was tried on a pig in the village of in Krishna Dist.

Attitude of Government of India towards the Tenali Bomb Case :

The repressive policy of the government of India in suppressing the revolutionary activities made it to add to the charges under the explosives act. Another important factor that comes to light in this case is that eventhough the witnesses were going in favour of the defence. the govt. was certain of the final result.

It is noteworthy, that when the Home Secretary pointed out to the effect that News Papers showed that several witnesses had been 'got at' by the defence, the Director of Criminal Intelligence remarked on the 24th June, 1909, that the Inspector General of Police told him that the defection of some of the witnesses was not expected to affect the result. It means that the Additional Judge should have informed the I. G. of Madras about the result already. Hence the severe sentence of death by hanging to Chukkapalli Ramayya, which was reduced to 10 years transportation after his appeal to Madras High Court.

All though it could not be certainly established by the police that the extremist had direct connection in this bomb case, the following inferences can be drawn :

- (1) Tenali was an important centre of extremism during this period, as evidenced by the conference of extremists in Dec. 1903 at Tenali and also by the existence in circulation of some pamphlets of terrorism.
- (2) Bodi Narayana Rao who met the Bengali Youth by name Sarkar had him tell about the manufacturing of bombs, had relatives in Nandivelugu village and several times he asserted that Kamma youth of Guntur District had taken an oath to sacrifice even their lives for Swaraj during his speeches in Krishna District show, that the villagers, at least some of them specially of Kattevaram, Kancharlapalem and Nandivelugu were directly involved in the propagation of extremism.
- (3) Despite the torture of the police to get evidence in their favour, some of them gave evidence in favour of Ramayya, shows the stubborn attitude of the people of the area.
- (4) There were factions in the village during the period of the case shows that some people taking the new spirit of militant nationalism were represented by

Lakkaraju Basavayya, Kotamraju Venkatrayudu and Chukkapalli Ramayya and the others who wanted to suppress it and helped the govt, were the people like the village munsif of Kancharlapalem and others. It is natural that on these vital issues of the day, namely, Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education there ought to have been differences of opinion in almost all villages.

- (5) Subsequent police reports say that the sentence in the Tenali bomb case had a very sobering effect and Tenali became quiet after the conviction in the bomb case, shows that govt was bent upon to terrorise the people of any revelutionary activities
- (6) Lastly, I may conclude, that the use of the bomb was only a trial to see whether it explodes or not, organized by Swadeshi preachers and their supporters.

Bibliographical Note .

For this paper, I have collected the information mainly from Home Political Department (1909-1911) of Govt. of India records at National Aechives of India, New Delhi, The Madras Mail 1909-1910, The Hindu 1909-1910, the Sedition Committee Report, New Paper Reports, etc

POLITICIZATION AND TENSIONS AMONG ANDHRA PEASANTS IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

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*"In Colonial Countries Peasants alone are revolutionary
because they have nothing to lose but everything to gain"*

Cathleen Gough — Hari P. Sharma

This paper seeks to examine the recent works of two Cambridge historians David Washbrook and Christopher Barker "South India — Political Institutions and Political Change 1880—1940"¹ The investigation begins with the theory of factional conflicts in Madras Presidency, contributed by Washbrook. Before I proceed to make any positive comments I shall first examine in nutshell the methodology, approach and analysis employed by the Cambridge Historians. At the very outset, the authors did not make use of original source materials in the form of Governmental records, news-paper clippings, pamphlets, and oral history recordings available in abundance in State Archives of southern states including the National Archives of India, Delhi Both the authors excessively depended on the printed books and reports gathered from bookshelf The vernacular sources that are in abundance in South have rarely been used. More important than the above the authors' approach was more of analytical political scientists rather than Historians

without making proper investigations to trace the events to their historical roots.

Madras Presidency constitutes three distinct political units - Tamilnadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and a tiny portion of Karnataka. Andhra - less nine districts of Telangana alone covered 52.7% (67212.98) aggregate of the area of Madras Presidency. In the nationalists histories, the Andhra Unit of Madras Presidency prominently figures both in intensity and potentialities during the struggle against the British imperialism and high degree of growing political consciousness. Therefore, in the hands of agitators, extremists techniques were adopted as a symbol of anti-British rule. For example, in 1917, the Indian National Congress after a deep assessment of the works of Andhra Provincial Congress Committee recognised to set up a separate congress for Andhra delta, to work with its mighty force in the struggle against the British Raj. But the contemporary would not know till 1929 that the struggle was to achieve independence from British.² There prevailed large scale violence and tensions among peasants at the call given by Andhra Provincial Congress.

The early part of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of several peasant organisations.³ The W. P. P defined peasant as "one who does agriculture work with his own hands and whose acreage does not exceed 60 bigas (20 acres) of land. Field (Farm) Labourers, small artisans and menials in the villages and fishermen are to be organised along with peasants". Map Tse Tung made an elaborate and precise meaning of peasant, when he said "How to differentiate classes in rural areas". Among the poor peasants some own part of their land and have a few old farm implements, others no land at all but only a few old farm implements. As a rule poor peasants have to rent the land they work on and are subjected to exploitation having to pay land rent and interest on loans and to hire themselves out to some extent.

The British rule favoured the growth of a class of rich dominant peasants, who availed the double benefit of receiving

help from the British and exploitation of the peasants at times of necessity. At the close of 1921 the number of Landlords increased and equally with that of cultivators and agricultural labour. The undermentioned figures shows :

	1911	1922
Landlords	2845	3727
Cultivators	71096	74665
Agricultural labourers	25879	21676

In that context, the oppressed peasantry, suddenly responded when some urban congressmen appeared in the villages to show them the way of truth.⁵ By 1921, 73% (30781678) of the population depended on Agriculture. Emphasising the upsurge of the peasantry specifically, R. P. Dutt observed "the news of the growth of unrest among the peasantry, the decisive question for the rebellion, immediately determined Gandhi that there was no time to loose and according to him this frightened 'Gandhi'"⁶

The peasant movement in various parts of India between 1918 through 1922, burst out as the result of two simultaneous processes. There was the conscious deliberate attempt at building up a peasant organization from above and to draw the Government's attention to the various forms of agrarian discontent then prevalent. At the same time, Subhash came into being under the leadership, as a result of independent peasant activity.⁷

The central question of this paper is to examine Washbrook's belief on the nationalist movement in Madras Presidency terming it as "factional conflicts". He argued that nationalist agitations were not mass protests, rather they were local protest movements launched by those who lost out in the struggle for political pickings. For instance "In the Andhra deltas, men who lost out in the district boards or in the division of spoils by the administration were able to manufacture their own rival political systems based on agitation, protest and publicity"⁸ He deve-

loped the theory of "factional Conflict" on the lines suggested by F G Bailey, an anthropologist who had shown that factional conflicts tend to predominate in local politics. It is accepted that the way peasant organization emerged in different parts of India strongly suggests to their agitational character. They were basically agrarian agitations rather than 'party' or 'organization' in the strict structural functional sense.⁹ Caste identity and solidarity did play some part in the peasant organizations particularly in their 'take off' stage. Whatever, the agitation or protest appeared during the period, but it was for one cry, one slogan was to reduce the excessive repression of British imperialism, combined with economic distress and political inducement.

By 1921, Madras Presidency had 38 volunteer corps with 3000 strong members enrolled.¹⁰ These volunteers have to "preserve order, regulate meetings, hartals and processions and to render social service in emergencies in accordance with the instructions issued to them."¹¹

Writing on non co-operation in South India, Barker says that this movement took the form of small and localised protest against forest lands, the intransigence of village officers against curbs on their power, tax refusals and protest against Government intrusion in urban areas, resentment of administrative restrictions and temperance campaigns. The author says that provincial leaders moulded these local agitations into a campaign of non co-operation though none of these was planned or guided by the congress or by Gandhi. Gandhi's influence was said to be little and the specific campaigns prescribed by him like the boycott of schools and law courts the establishment of indigenous institutions the propagation of Khadi and renunciation of title had little impact. What was, therefore, significant about non co-operation in South India was the link between local agitations and national politics. While agitations were caused by local problems, they were dealt with and represented as though they were part of a national movement against the British Raj.

The bravery of Andhras is best demonstrated in No Tax Campaign in 1922. Therein the extensive sea ward plain in

Andhra was enacted an extra ordinary and in one sense a memorable peasant drama of "No Tax Campaign" which for its grim sacrifices and its yearning for freedom has no parallel in modern Indian History. The Peddanandipad Campaign as observed by Professor N. G. Ranga, for the first time "told the peasants to their wonder the satisfaction that it was quite legitimate for them to refuse to pay land revenue the payment of which the ryots come to look upon almost as a religious duty".

Anil Seal, another Cambridge historian has attempted to give a still more deeper insight to the concept of local politics or rural politics.

Imperialism and Nationalism in India, in the locality, Province and Nation, he observed "what seems to have decided political choice in the localities was the *race for influence status and resources*" In the pursuit of these aims, patrons regimented their clients into factions which jockeyed for position Rather than partnership between fellows, these were usually associations of bigwigs and followers In other words, they were vertical alliances, not horizontal alliances Total alliances were seldom marked by the alliance of landlord with landlord, peasant with peasant, educated with educated Muslim with educated Muslim and Brahmin with Brahmin".

It is agreed to the extent that the Indian rural politics, was vertical alliance based on race, influence, status and resources But with all the alliances, they were regimenting towards one common goal to embarrass British imperialism through various means. In that hectic activity race, influence, status and resources, all embraced national struggle In the absence of proper strategy building, like that of a communist revolution, the congress bourgeoisie products of Western Education attempted to establish 'hide and seek' game in Indian politics It was urban oriented politics over rural ignorant masses, easy prey for exploitation. But this should not be judged from the localised protests on the lines suggested by Cambridge dons on that, it was a symbol of reducing the 'British Bureaucracy'. Whether

urban predominates over rural, ignorant masses exploited at the hands of the bourgeoisie congressmen, all were spear-heading for the national struggle. Indian National Congress, had over all command to all its subsidiary wings of provincial Congress. There were free communications between national leaders and provincial leaders to raise a slogan against the British imperialism to attain Swaraj. Of course, each region differs from its local factors in the styles and structures of the different political wings in the struggle. Caste system though played a minor role, in the process of national struggle. The theory of factional conflicts does not seem to have supported by documentary evidences. From a deep study of the various movement in Andhra one is made to understand that each phase of the struggle was backed by popular supports. The contemporary newspapers can serve as a Laboratory to analyse the various trends of public opinion on the issue. Some vernacular papers also spoke with statistics and datas. As David Handman¹² frankly admits that "The main faults of the essay on non-co-operation, and it applies to other essays in the book to a less extent, is that it tries to extend, the theory of, factional conflict to include all types of rural political activity. Washbrook even goes so far as to say that there were no significant class movements in Madras Presidency during this period. The factional theory has much value in it, but it cannot be made to fit such mass movements as non co operation, movements which were based for the most part on the discontent of rural classes."

Barker's evaluation of no tax campaign in Andhra centered round the theory of undermining of the power of village headmen by the Government, which was ultimately responsible for the village officers to collect the land revenue for a short period. The hypothesis Barker supports with the Agricultural conference in Guntur, 1914 in which the peasants demanded that the powers of village officials be transferred to elected panchayats. It should be borne in mind that the village officialdom occupied the lowest place in the hierarchical ladder of the District administrative apparatus. Thus the village officers acted as an agent to British bureaucratic functionaries on throttling the struggle

against imperialism. In short, the peasants were trying to capture the village administration to check the negative growth of large scale abuses of lower level functionaries of bureaucracy, and therefore, the peasants identified themselves that they were not totally under the "thumb of the village head men". They adopted the technique of agitation and protest. Washbrook points that in 1920, a political party organised by dominant kamma peasantry have captured the Guntur District Board, subsequently split, Kamma peasantry refusing to co-operate with Kamma land lord. Obviously, this can be treated as the clear cut character of agrarian struggle against landlord by peasants, against have and have nots against Land-holders with landless irrespective of caste politics. Further the agitation laid the foundation stone of "Land to the tiller". This amply proves to demolish Washbrook's theory on factional conflicts. Again in the counterpart to Kamma peasantry there was Reddy peasantry both are dominant class landlords in Andhra. There is no evidence on the records about their clash or otherwise. Further Hamsa Alvi argued that peasant society can be organized both on vertical and horizontal lines. The rich peasant can mobilise the support of those dependent on them, namely tenants and agricultural wage labourers.

Political awakening in India, therefore, came about in a number of ways. The development of communications was of obvious importance, without railways, roads, village schools and increased marketing of cash crops. There was the immediate response of peasants over the new political opportunities. However, the attitude of the peasants to various opportunities largely depended on the history and the rural social organization of each area.

Our task now should be to take the hints from Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse Tung and study our peasantry.

In Madras Presidency for example in 1932, the tenants of the Zamindars of Udyarpalayam placed their demands before the authorities requesting for fixing of rent, survey of land, abolition of taxes on petty cultivation and illegal exactions and

repair of lands and water resources. The peasants thus awakened were conscious of their grievances gave up their timidity and organised themselves. They were finely instructed also about the political situation of the country. When the India Act of 1935 was passed, the Kisan leaders like Prof. N. G. Ranga, who placing this problem before the common masses "Who will come into power (under the new constitution)? Zamindars, Sankars and white businessmen who are more arbitrary than Mussolini and Hitler when they get into power"?

In Malabar the slogans of the Karshaka Sangam in 1939-1942 were "Let Jemis or Landlord perish, let British Govt. perish, do not keep the war efforts, do not join the army and Inquilab zindabad". Ref ; Govt. of India File. Pol. Home. 1934.

Letter of Lord Erskine dt. 27, July 1938 to His Majesty King

The Telugus inhabit the Coastal districts of the Carnatic from about twenty miles north of Madras city to the confines of Orissa.

They are a concerted, excited and stupid people and in times past they have caused more trouble than all the other races that inhabit the presidency put together. They are very jealous of the Tamils who are a far ablest race and the educated Telugus have lately become very keen on obtaining a province of their own for the simple reason that they expect there would be many more Govt. posts to be divided up amongst them if the Andhra Country was made into a separate administrative area.

NOTES

1. Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XI, No. 9, Feb. 28, 1976 p. 365.

David Harridman made an extensive critical comment on the works of Washbrook and Barker. He made an elaborate and illustrative explanation of concepts like Localised protests, factional conflicts, dominant caste roles in village politics and so on, and concludes with "The need for more details on the peasant politics in Guntur district before making any categorical statements and dismiss the concepts of factional conflicts applied to Guntur district during the period". This essay provides a full length objective history to bridge the missing links.

2. Although the extremist wing of the Congress adopted the Swaraj (self-rule), but still it was not clear self-rule precisely the meaning within the British or outside
3. Dhangere D N , *The Sociological Review* January 1976
The political survival — Peasant Organisation and the Left Wing in India 1925-1946
4. The census returns for Madras Presidency for 1921 reveal a very high percentage of 'tenant-cultivators' and a comparatively low percentage of "owner cultivators"
The figures are, Cultivating owners 38.9%
Cultivating tenants 23.5%
5. *Economic & Political Weekly*, February 28, 1976 — p 395.
David Hardiman believes that Liberal Nationalism is essentially an ideology of bourgeoisie which wishes to free the nation from the economic and other discrimination imposed by an imperial power
6. R. P. Dutt, *India Today*, Bombay 1947 — p 287
7. Majid H Siddiqui, p 98
8. David Washbrook - *Country Politics*, Madras, 1880 to 1900.
9. *Sociological Bulletin* Vol 24, No 1, March 1975.
The Politics of survival - peasant organization and the left wing in India - D. N. Dhangare.
The peasant organisations almost always suffered from an identity crisis, but their genuine struggle was fully exploited by all political parties
10. File 329 of 1922 Home (Political)
11. IAR, Part I, 1921-22.
12. *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol XI, No. 9, February 28, 1976. p 367
13. Hamsa Alvi, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol I, No I, 1973.
Peasant classes and Primordial loyalties

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY IN ANDHRA

M. SUDHA

Last century had occupied an important position in the social and religious conditions of Andhra. The orthodox Hindus had developed numerous undesirable practices such as untouchability, idolatry, child marriages, Kanyasulkam and Varasulkam. There were many other evils that cannot be exactly placed under either social or religious fields. This mess and confusion itself speaks for the conditions that were existing in those times.

On the otherhand, the impact of Western education was the main force which began to awaken liberal ideas among social and religious fields. Many a time, it was felt that the education and culture of the west was coupled with the spread of Christianity.² Instead of posing a challenge, the western impact provided us with a better knowledge to modernize our social and religious fields! Nor was the Government of India in a mood to encourage the activities of Christianity in Andhra. The Government of India had ordered the Government of Madras in specific words in 1864, not to display any official interest in the propagation of Christianity. However, Hindu Society and Hinduism became the targets of missionary's work in India. No God or Goddess, no custom either social or religious escaped from their severe criticism.

Thus it was felt that the purging of the social and religious practices that had divided the men and encouraged narrow outlook, was the need of the day.

The large scale conversions into Christianity was a final warning to Hinduism. Unless and until it could make itself pure and ready to believe and practice that all men are brothers, its very existence was threatened.

Hence there were attempts by various societies to purify Indian society and Hindu religion, one such being the Theosophical movement. It was lucky for this movement that already the middle class in Andhra had been prepared by Sri K. Veeresalingam and his followers to receive liberal ideas and movements.

The Theosophical Society, which is an international organization was formed by Madam Blavatsky (11-8-1831 to 8-5-1891) a Russian lady, Col., H. S. Olcott, an American (2-8-1832 to 1907), with other friends on 17th November 1875 at New York U. S. A. In 1879, its international headquarters was shifted to Bombay and in 1882 to Adyar, Madras. It was incorporated at Adyar, Madras on 3rd April 1905.

Objectives of Theosophical Society :

1. To form a nucleus of the Universal Brotherhood of Humanity, without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or colour.
2. To encourage the study of Comparative Religion, Philosophy and Science.
3. To investigate unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in man.

From the above mentioned objectives, it is clear that the social and religious unrest in Andhra badly needed an organisation or movement like that of Theosophical movement. It aimed at spreading the ideas of brotherhood and social equality among men. Secondly, it tried to remove the misunderstandings in

religion, by providing a basic comparison of various religions and philosophies, which finally result in unfolding the rich and vast experience of man. The third objective makes it clear that the activities of the society are not only restricted to the material level but also tries to provide a technique to understand the very nature, explore and to bring out one's own latent powers to the surface. Thus a member of Theosophical Society would always look forward to do good not only at the material level but also at the spiritual level unlike many other movements. There is no need of conversion. The movement allowed its members to retain their own religion with its prescribed customs. This liberal attitude of the organisation calls for one's own attention while trying to estimate its growth, it is not the numerical strength that is important. The required qualifications to be its members are better explained in the following passage by Sri Bhagawan Das one of the eminent and early members of the Theosophical Society³ "Theosophical Society is a Society which is composed of students belonging to any religion in the world or to none, who are united by their approval of these three objects, by their wish to remove religious antagonism and to draw together men of good will, whatsoever their religious opinions and by their desire to study religious truths and share the results of their studies with others."

Since this society does not believe in any religious fervour in particular, all the attempts to unite it with Aryasamaj of Swamy Dayananda Saraswathi failed. Swamy Dayananda began in the *Theosophist*, the writing of autobiography in October 1879/80. However by 1882, Swamy Dayananda charged the founders of Theosophical Society as converts to Buddhism and not to Vedas⁴.

Thus the idea of amalgamation was a futile one. Though the movement began to spread to Andhra, later, Andhras were associated with it from its inception in India. Sri Tallapragada Subba Rao, was one such Andhra, who welcomed the founders at Madras. He moved very close with Blavatsky and Col. H. S. Olcott.* In 1883, the 'Subba Rao Medal' was initiated by the

Theosophical Society to be awarded to writers of works of outstanding merit on eastern and western philosophy. However, it is sad to contemplate that he left the society due to difference of opinion with Madam Blavatsky.

The founders of the the society, Madam Blavatsky and Col H. S. Olcott began to tour through the length and breadth of India. Col H. S. Olcott was advised by his Master in a letter to him, received on 6th June 1883, to try and enter into relation with the Rajas of Venkatagiri and Vijayanagaram⁶ (Letter received on 6th June 1883. This letter was written on both sides of a paper in green ink and in French. It was published in the *Theosophist*, *Olcott Century Number* August 1932 the Master Hillarian to H. S. O.)

Starting from Madras on 7th May, 1882 Madam Blavatsky and H. S. Olcott reached Nellore on 8th night. On that night of 8th at about 11 O'clock, the first branch of Theosophical Society in Andhra was opened⁸. On that occasion a Sanskrit School was opened, which is today the Sanskrit College affiliated to Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupathi. Sri Bodi Ranga Reddy donated a building for the Nellore branch of Theosophical Society.

Following the opening of a new branch at Nellore, wherever the founders went, new branches of Theosophical Society came up soon. Guntur, Bellary, Adoni, Hyderabad, Gooty, Kurnool, Vijayanagaram, Anantapur, Visakhapatnam, Kakinada, Rajamundry, Vijayawada and Machilipatnam, were some of the important towns and cities that were blessed with new branches⁹. Madam Blavatsky and Col. H. S. Olcott received a warm welcome at every place in Andhra. By the time of Madam Blavatsky's death on 8th May 1891, 16 branches of Theosophical Society were in existence in Andhra alone.

The entry of Annie Besant into Theosophical Society in 1889 in England was a mile stone in the history of Theosophical movement. She, after attending the Chicago Conference of Religions in 1893, reached India on 16th November, 1893. She at

once became the successor of Madam Balvatsky to Eastern school of Theosophy, the inner circle. She along with Col. H. S. Olcott travelled extensively in Andhra and lectured wherever she went. At the time of Col. H. S. Olcott's death on 17th February, 1907, there were altogether 35 branches or lodges in Andhra i. e. between 1901 to 1906. 19 new branches were established. After the Founder-President Col. H. S. Olcott's death, Annie Besant became the President of Theosophical Society till her own death in 1933. By the time of her death there were 52 lodges in Andhrn alone. The following Table gives an idea of growth of Theosophical movement in Andhra as based on the number of branches opened.

Sl. No.	Years		Total No of Lodges in Andhra	Total No. of New Lodges opened.
	From	To		
1.	1880	- 1890	16	17
2.	1891	- 1900	24	8
3.	1901	- 1910	38	14
4.	1911	- 1920	40	2
5.	1921	- 1930	51	3
6.	1931	- 1933	52	1
7.	1934	- 1940	59	7
8.	1941	- 1950	86	27
9.	1951	- 1960	114	28

According to the Table shown above, the growth of Theosophical branches in Andhra in order of merit was follows : -

S. No.	Years	Total. No of Lodges Estd ,	No. of New lodges Estd.,
1.	1951 - 1960	114	28
2.	1941 - 1950	86	27
3.	1901 - 1910	38	14

During the years 1911 to 1920 there were only 2 new lodges established while between 1921-30 are three and by Annie Besant's death in 1933, one only. Thus it is apparent that this movement reached its lowest ebb during 1920-33.

Causes for its decline

Mrs. Bonner has described Mrs Besant — "She is bound to be the head of any movement she cares to join." That she always did become the head of any movement she joined is amply proved by her life. She was the foremost leader of Socialistic thought and endeavour in England¹² She became the greatest figure in Theosophical Society. She actively came into Indian Politics only in 1914, by 1915 she was one of the forces to be reckoned with and she actually became President of the Indian National Congress in 1917. She was the leader of Home Rule movement, she was the editor of 'New India', she was one of the popular speakers that inspired the masses. Her activities left her with little time to devote to the propagation of Theosophical movement. As if all that was not enough she was interned in 1917 at Octy for her activities in Indian Politics, where her other followers Mr G. S. Arundale and Wadia joined her later. The arrests of all the three leading forces of Theosophical Society had its effect on the movement.¹³ Besides this whole episode of Shri J. Krishnamurthy had its own effect on the movement, in Andhra. Madam Annie Besant and C. W. Leadbeater strongly believed that Sri J. Krishnamurthy was destined to be the prophet to guide the mankind towards the goal of eternal happiness. To make the world ready for the Master the 'Order of Star of the East' was started with Krishnamurthy as its President. Contrary to all believers, he declared that he was not the master and abolished the 'Star of the East' in 1928. He had even chosen to quit the society. Many of the Theosophists became his followers and thus cut off their relationship with the movement. Those, who were outside the Society stayed away naturally¹⁴ Thus in the central Districts (Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah & Kurnool) there were no youth who could actively undertake the spread of the movement.

Further in October, 1932 in a meeting held at Sanmarga Lodge Bellary, under the Presidentship of Sri C.R. Parthasarathy. The Andhra Federation split into the Andhra Circars Federation and the Central Districts' Federation. From then onwards these two units worked separately in all matters till 1959. This partition was one of the factors for the decline of the movement in Andhra. However from 1941 to 1960 a total number of 56 new lodges came up. After Annie Besant none of the leading figures of Theosophical Society took active interest in the Politics. Hence they devoted their full attention and saw that the movement received spur.

History of Federations In Andhra

The Central Districts Federation consisting of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur was the most ancient branch of Theosophical Society in South India. It held its annual meetings from 1901 at various places. But in 1918 November in a meeting under the chairmanship of Sri Jina Raja Desa, the Northern Telugu Districts Federation was formed. From 1926, both the Federations enjoyed autonomy in financial matters as granted by the Indian Section of Theosophical Society. In November 1927, both the federations were amalgamated into one and was named as the Andhra Federation. It was to have a Secretary from Telugu Federation area and an assistant Secretary from Central Districts area. Its headquarters was at Vijayawada. Sri A. S. Rajagopalayyengar and Sri K. Brahma Sastry were its first Secretary and Assistant Secretary respectively. However, following the annual meeting in 1932 the Andhra Federation broke up into two i.e., the Andhra Circars Federation and the Central Districts Federation. Hyderabad was added to the Central Districts Federation and became its Headquarters. This Federation was later renamed as the Rayala-seema Federation.

The Andhra and Circars Federations had its headquarters initially at Vijayawada and later was shifted to Gudur.

Guntur and Rajahmundry played considerable roles during the Secretaryship of Sri Nyapathy Hanumantha Rao and Sri Venkatachalam.

1. Organization of Theosophical Society :

A lodge may be formed whenever seven members get together, after receiving the permission from Indian Section. A centre can be formed with three members at the beginning, on application to the Indian Section. All the lodges will be formed into Federations. In Andhra there are two Federations. All the Federations in India, grouped together will form the Indian Section with its headquarters at Varanasi. Adyar, Madras is the International Headquarters of Theosophical Society.

Contribution of the Movement in Andhra :

To assess the contribution of this movement is highly complicated. It is neither a small nor a religious movement to put it in exact words. It is a unique movement. It did not try to preach anything new to us.

"This movement alone of all the great religious impulses of the past, brings to new religion to mankindIt proclaims one basis for all. It teaches religion and not a religion; that which is common to all : not that which shall be special to a new Church or a new faith". The Theosophical Society, allowed its members to undertake active interest in social and educational fields apart from the society. The lodges or the members on their own can do any service that calls their attention¹⁷ One of the early 20th century magazines sarcastically remarks about the spirit of social service of the members of the Theosophical Society; yet it might be an attack on particular member, but could not be a general remark. The services and contributions of the members of Theosophical Society are mainly in social and educational fields.

Education :

At Nellore, a Sanskrit school was opened to mark the entry of T. S. (Theosophical Society) in Andhra. That school had been

developed into a college affiliated to Sri Venkateswara University, Thirupathi.¹⁸ Sri Rayachoti Giri Rao (1865-1918, at Madanapalli established a school in 1888 itself. Sri J. Krishnamurthy was one of the students of this school. Sri Giri Rao with the help of ardent friends ran the school with difficulty. He had to sell his wife's ornaments for this purpose. He received 'a Certificate of Merit' from the viceroy for his services in the field of education. From 1913 the Theosophical Educational Trust took up the financial matters and began to run it. In 1915 it was developed into the famous B. T. College, Madanapalle. This is the first College in Rayalaseema area.

Sri Rayachoti Giri Rao opened the Polepalli Venkata Ramayya Higher Elementary School at Vayalpad. To day, it is the Board High School. At Vayalpadu, he had opened a separate elementary school for girls.

Rishivalley at Madanapalle is also run by Theosophical Educational Trust. It is one of the few schools that takes care of the all round personality of children.

At Eluru, a high school was established by Sri Somanchi Lingayya. Today it is a school with more than one thousand students.

The Vasantha Institute and its role in spreading the movement in Andhra and its contribution to knowledge lodge must be mentioned in this regard. This institute is situated at Adyar, Madras. Messrs. Sri T. Ramachandra Rao, Sri B. Ranga Reddy, Sri Addanki Sitarama Sastry and Sri G. Venkata Subbayya were some of the people who helped to establish this institute. It began publication of books in Telugu from 1912. The Telugu version of *At the feet of the Master* by Sri J. Krishnamurthy was the first book published. In 1942 the institute was shifted to Gudivada and to Rajahmundry in 1956. Till 1959, this institute had published 35 books both original and translation works.

19 A few sentences may be said about the magazine '*Divya Jnana Deepika*' that spreads spiritual knowledge. It was

called '*Hamsa*' and was first published in Telugu from Guttu (Anantapur Dt) in 1908. In 1910, it was shifted to Chittoor and was renamed as '*Divya Jnana Deepika*'. Sri Paramatmuni Narasimhayya garu was its first editor. Its Golden Jubilee was celebrated at Madanapalle, Chittoor Dt.

Social field

Sri R. Jagannathayya was one of the early members who fought against social evils such as the ill-treatment of widows. He encouraged widow re-marriages, prohibition of intoxicating drinks, animal slaughter, improving the position of prostitutes.

20. Sri Rayachoti Seshagiri Rao established 'Abala Abhivridhini Samajam', with Mrs. Cousins in 1916/17, under her Presidentship. He also established a dramatic association called 'Neeti Bodhini'. Eradication of untouchability was taken up by Sri A. Nanjundappa of Cuddapah, Sri Tirumala Raju Narasimha Raju of Vijayanagaram, and others. Sri Nanjundappa used to go the houses of Harijans and to teach the adult during nights, serve them if they were sick.

The main aim of the Theosophical movement was to point out that all men are brothers. It stands for the removal of all restrictions among them, be it social or religious. Its members are bound by a common bond of love.

NOTES

1. Wood to Denison dated 11th July 1864, Wood Papers, Vol. 17, Nos. 156ff. As quoted by Dr S. Gopal in his *British Policy in India 1838-1903*.
2. On Indian Society and Religion. History of India, Vol II, by Percival Spear.
3. The Religion of Theosophy, page 33 & 34, by Bhagawan Das M.A., Published by the Theosophist, Adyar, Madras.
4. A Short History of the Theosophical Society, 115-122, by Josephine Ransome, Published by The Theosophist, Adyar, Madras.

- 5 The Golden Book of the Theosophical Society 1875-1925 Edited by C Jna Raja Dasa, Vice President of Theosophical Society Published by The Theosophist, Adyar, Madras
- 6 A letter published in the Theosophist, Olcott Century Number, August 1932 The Master Hilarian to H S O Published by the Theosophist, Adyar, Madras
- 7 7th May 1882 is the date mentioned by Josephine Ransome in her short history of Theosophical Society But one of the articles published in the Souvenir of Telugu Federation of Theosophical Society, published in 1959 mentions as "rd May 1882
- 8 Souvenir, Telugu Federation 1959, pages 5-14, Published by the Souvenir sub committee of the Reception Committee, H Y D
- 9 Old Diary leaves by H S Olcott as mentioned in the Souvenir, Published by the Telugu Federation, H Y D
- 10 Data collected from 'A Brief History of Dodges in Telugu Federation, Published in the Souvenir of Telugu Federation, H Y D
- 11 Quoted by Shri Prakasa in his 'Annie Besant', page 35, published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay in 1954
- 12 Sri Prakasa, 'Annie Besant', page 36 Published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay in 1954
- 13 Sri Vemuri Srinivasa Rao in his Article pp 14-19
- 11, 15 Published in the Souvenir of Telugu Federation, 1959 H Y D
- 16 Annie Beasant, in the 10th annual meeting of the European section Published as the 'The Inner Purpose of Theosophical Society' Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, in July, 1914
- 17 'Sathya Samvardhani' January 1893 page 805 hints that a few that were interested in encouragement of widow re marriages are removing them after becoming the members of Theosophical Society It may be a stone thrown at Shri Nyapathy Subba Rao who was a follower of Shri K Veeresalingam and later became a life member of Theosophical Society
- 18 Souvenir of Telugu Federation Published in 1959, by the Souvenir Committee, H Y D
19. Divya Jnana Deepika, Golden Jubilee Issue Published by the Telugu Federation, May 1960
- 20 A Brief Sketch of Important Persons of Theosophical Society, Published in the Souvenir Telugu Federation in 1959 H Y D

MACKENZIE MANUSCRIPTS - AS A SOURCE OF COMPREHENSIVE HISTORIGRAPHY

M. KRISHNAMURTHY, M A., *

Thanks to Francis, the Fifth Lord Napier of Merchistown, who inspired Col. Colin Mackenzie, the Surveyor-General, under the East India Company "to collect all information about the knowledge possessed by the Hindus of Mathematics in general and use of their Logarithms in particular." ¹ It was Mackenzie's first concern that paved the way to travel through the ancient world of Hindu Wisdom, as a researcher. He first arrived at Madras and paid a visit to Madura, where he made friendship with the native Brahmin Scholars. Here, he conceived the idea of forming Collections illustrative of Indian History and Antiquities. "The visit to Madura dates the commencement of many years of research into the antiquities of India." ² Thus Mackenzie's contacts with "the Brahmins impressed him with the idea of that the most valuable (matter) for a History of India might be collected in different parts of the Peninsula, which afterwards became the favourite object of his pursuit for 32 years of his life and which is now the most valuable collection of Historical Documents related to India that ever was made by any one individual in Europe or in Asia." ³

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Thus Mackenzie's Manuscripts collected between 1782 to 1870 are a collection of documents named after Col (Colin Mackenzie and included Manuscripts, Coins, Inscriptions, Maps and Plans bearing on literature, religion, history and manners and customs of the people and tribes of South India, in as many scripts and languages.

In the Telugu country Col. Mackenzie was attracted very much by the Administrative Records known as *Danda Kaviles* or *Kaviles*⁴ or village registers containing information about the political, religious, social and economic conditions of the village. These were in the custody and maintenance of Karanams of the respective villages. It was then the official duty of those village officers to record all important events that happened during his time and pass them to his successors. These *Kaviles* thus grew in bulk from generation to generation.

Mackenzie made systematic arrangements to get the above information collected or copied by his local Pundits like Kavali Venkata Borriah, his brothers and others. They collected several *Danda Kaviles* and copied every inscription of the village recorded either on stone or copper plate. In some cases where village officers refused to part with the original *Kaviles*, they prepared digests out of the village registers maintained by the karanams. These are popularly known as *Kaifats*,⁵ and they yielded very valuable historical information. In Telangana area Mackenzie employed Pundits viz., Ananda Rao, Venkata Rao and Narayana Rao who collected very valuable information and prepared diaries containing minute details of their itinerary. The extracts thereof have been sent to Calcutta, where Mackenzie was staying at that time and these are known as Despatches.

Mackenzie Collection pertaining the South India included 284 Volumes containing 2,070 tracts in Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Marathi Languages, 77 volumes containing 8,076 copies of Inscriptions⁶ while as per the recent reports of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras where original Mackenzie Collections are housed and preserved, there are 349 volumes of

local tracts and 62 volumes of Local Records.⁷ In addition to this, there are sixteen Brown Letters, two Elliot's collection, and five Taylor's Local Tracts. Out of the above, valuable collections like specimens of carved stone work (sculptures) and Sanskrit, Arabic and Burmese Manuscripts were sent to England between 1823 and 1825. The remaining Manuscripts most of them were sent to the College Library, Fort St. George, Madras as they related to South India. There they remained in a state of neglect till 1830. After this the Madras Literary Society tried to extract information from them but had to abandon the project for lack of funds.

H. H. Wilson, Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, who published a Descriptive Catalogue of Mackenzie Collection in 1828 and its second edition appeared in 1882. Subsequently Rev. William Taylor catalogued them again with the sanction of the East India Company and with the assistance of one of the Kavalı brothers and published it in 1862 under the title 'A Catalogue Raisonne of the Oriental Manuscripts'. Thereafter Mackenzie Collection was shifted from College of Fort St. George to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

C P Brown got prepared under his supervision copies of 62 of them. Dr Gustav Oppert, the then Professor of Samskrit and Curator of the Manuscripts Library, Madras made proper arrangements for their unkeep and safety. Two more volumes of catalogues were brought out by T. Chandrasekharam during 1952 and 1958. This Descriptive Catalogue covered only 250 Local Tracts of the Telugu Kaifiats. The rest of them remain uncatalogued.

In 1972 Madras University brought out summaries of Mackenzie Local Tracts concerning the Tamil Country and which were in Tamil script and language. This was edited by Prof. T. V Mahalingam. It is reported that the second volume containing Telugu and Kannada Manuscripts is in the press.

Col. Mark Wilks, a contemporary of Mackenzie gratefully acknowledged in his Preface to the book 'The History of Mysore' that Mackenzie 'bears unqualified testimony to the high value of the collection'.

In 1829 Kavali Venkata Ramaswami, employed by Mackenzie, wrote his work, *Biographical Sketches of the Dekkan Poets* based entirely on the Mackenzie Collections. Its second edition was published in 1847. In 1975, Dr. C. V. Ramachandra Rao of Nellore brought out this book with copious notes and valuable introduction.

In 1852 C. P. Brown, while preparing his Telugu-English Dictionary made use of these Collections.

The main source of information for *Kavi Jutamulu* of Gurazada Sriramamurti Pantulu add 'Andhra Kavula Caritra' in 3 parts of Sri Viresalingam Pantulu are these collections.

Eminent Historians like Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao (Andhrula Coritra), K. V. Lakshmana Rao (Encyclopaedia in Telugu), Bhavaraju Krishna Rao (Early Dynasties of Andhra Desa, Vengi Samuka and Eastern Chalukyas), Vaddadi Appa Rao (Reddy Samuka), Rallabandi Subba Rao (Kalinga Caritra) Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma (History of Reddi Kingdoms and many essays), Dr. M. Rama Rao (History of Kakatiyas) and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya have drawn their sources copiously from these Collections.

In spite of such a galaxy of scholars making use of the material, the Telugus have not felt it necessary to publish these original Texts and prepare a Comprehensive Index of these Collections, which would be useful to several researchers working in different fields of research.

Mention has to be made of one scholar of Madras, who showed lukewarm interest to the study and consultation of these collections. But in spite of his singular views, the collections remain a precious source of information for historiography.

It is true that it contains much of traditional material mixed up with historical data, as Dr N. Venkataramanayya had observed 'fiction can always be separated from fact although much power of discrimination is needed in performing the work.'⁸ It is so with any source material in Historiography.

In this paper an attempt is made to place before the scholars a brief picture of the analysis of the Collections to show how they cannot be ignored by historians as a source for reconstructing the History of South India in general and Andhra Pradesh in particular.

Mackenzie Manuscripts, especially the *Kaifiats*, cover various subjects of historical interest like historical background of the villages, agro-economic conditions, the places where minerals are available, the background of digging the tanks, legends of pilgrim centres, the details of agriculture, the account of *Zamin-dars*, Industrial and marketing centres, the methods of taxation, village boundaries, socio-economic conditions of various periods, the *firman*s, *sanads* and pedigrees of various ruling families, and the origin of castes and tribes.

The accounts in the *Kaifiats* 'as mentioned already' are a mixture of legends and history. The account of early dynasties such as *Satvahanas*, *Pallavas*, *Vishnukundins*, *Calukyas* and *Rastrakutas* etc and other dynasties are very meagre and sometimes not very accurate. But the information regarding *Kakatiyas*, *Reddis*, *Rayas*, *Gajapatis* are precise and accurate. They also furnish us with the solutions for some intricate problems connected with the interpretation of inscriptions.

The descriptions furnished in these *Kaifiats* about *Moghuls*, *Qutb Shahis*, *Asafjahis*, *French*, *English* and *Zamindari Administration* in this part of the country are very accurate and contain minute details. Special information can be gathered regarding the *Poligars of Rayalasima*.

Karikala Chola and Trilocana Pallava was the earliest work of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, who has drawn copiously from the Collections.

Dr N Venkataramanayya has extracted many instances in his 'Further Sources of Vijayanagar History' and 'Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara'. One such most interesting document preserved in the Mackenzie Collection is 'Atthavana Tantram' which gives us the administrative system of Government under Vijayanagara. It is of vital importance as it deals with the nature of Taxation system

Another work compiled by Dr N Venkataramanayya is 'Velugoti Vamsavali' a History of Velama Chiefs. This is based on two Manuscripts

Later on Dr N. Venkataramanayya has compiled Cuddapah Inscriptions etc. The source material for this work was these Collections

A few instances will be cited regarding the valuable contents of the Kaifiats, and their original numbers of the Manuscripts are shown in the brackets.

- i) Hanumakonda Kaifiat (15-4-5) provides us with the account of the History of the Kakatiyas, their genealogy and Administration.
- ii) Koilgunt Kaifiat (15-3-2) furnishes a lengthy account of its history of villages then comprised in Koilguntasima and agricultural operations etc
- iii) Rajahmundry Kaifiat (15-3-16) This contains an elaborate account of the History of Eastern Calukyas
- iv) Boyinapelli Kaifiat (15-3-16) mentions about Jain Settlements etc.
- v) Nagala Dinne Kaifiat (15-3-36) refers to the various crops harvested in some areas.

On the subject of Agriculture we have the account regarding various methods of cultivation, the types of the soil, the

seasons for sowing, precautions to preserve and the growing of crops. For instance in Nagala Dinne Kaifiat we have details of crops like Jawar, Bajra, Redgram, Castor Seeds, Bengalgram grown in small quantities in sandy soil along with Betel Leaves, Bananas, Lemon, Coconut, Mango, Citrus, Sugarcane, Orange and vegetables and cucumber which were also grown.

Dacepalli Kaifiat (15-3-36) contains details of the exploration of the Iron Ore near Nallamalai Region, Cuddapah District, the expenditure incurred at the time of manufacturing and extracting the metal from the ore.

In Prodduturupeta an account is given about commodities imported at the place and exported from there with the details of price of each commodity like groceries and textiles.

Kaifiat of Srisaïlam (15-3-2) furnishes a detailed account of the life of the Chencus (aboriginal tribe) their hunting habits, the weapons they used, social customs of their marriages etc.

Before concluding, mention has to be made of the language and technical terms used in these tracts. A linguist can very well reconstruct the language development and the live language of the people in general,

For men of Literature there are legends and stories the plot for a literary writing is available. One notices that the main plot of the play 'Prataparudriyam (Sri Vedam Venkataraya Sastri) seems to be based on certain stories in the Hanumakonda Kaifiat.

I am sure that the foregoing account on the subject shows ample evidence to prove that Mackenzie Manuscripts contain a wealth of material and it will be impossible to assess their value until all the texts of Kaifiats and inscriptions are studied and published⁹ in full. The State Archives, Andhra Pradesh will soon bring out one such volume on Guntur District and we hope the work on other districts also will be followed and completed

quickly It is over due. It is also possible to take out Xerox copies of the negatives collected by the State Archives. The same have to be enlarged and copies taken and published for the benefit of the scholars,

Collection of the source material may even now be made for the Comprehensive History of Andhra Pradesh which is under contemplation as a major project of the Government of Andhra Pradesh. Field work on an extensive scale has to be made on the following lines :

- i) All matter that is not found in the collections has to be collected in a scientific manner thus filling up the gaps.
- ii) Special collection has to be made about the tribals, nomadic and other backward minorities of the people.
- iii) Field survey must be made about every detail of the people taking the village as a basic unit. For this an elaborate questionnaire has to be prepared and record has to be collected for purposes of collation and compilation.
- iv) The system followed by the Census Department which prepared the volumes on Fairs and Festivals may be taken as a model and a comprehensive data collection has to be evolved out.

Thus the racial memories can be recorded for the benefit of the coming generations. The same has to be done in English and Telugu. Such projects may be undertaken by the Government (State Archives and State Archaeology & Museums), Universities and Research Institutes like International Telugu Institute, Hyderabad.

I thank the conveners of the Conference for giving me an opportunity to place these matters before you for serious consideration.

NOTES

- 1 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol I, p 333
- 2 W C Mackenzie, *Co'. Colin Mackenzie, the First Surveyor-General of India* (London, 1952)
- 3 H H Wilson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Mackenzie Collection* (Calcutta, 1882), p 8
- 4 C P Brown *English-Telugu Dictionary* (Hyderabad, 1966), Local Archives The Chronicle or Book giving the History of a village
- 5 C P Brown, *Dictionary of Mixed Telugu* (Hyderabad 1966), Particulars, Circumstances-
- 6 H H Wilson Op Cit XIV XV
7. Local Records are the copies transcribed from the original Mackenzie Collection under the supervision of C P. Brown, who made his selection eschewing out superfluous, unimportant and redundant material.
8. Dr. N Venkataramanayya, *Karikala Chola and Trilocana Pallava* (Madras 1928)
9. Some of the Karfiats published in the first quarter of 20th Century which are not extant are furnished below

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Pusapativari Karfiat b) Korukonda „ c) Samarlakota „ d) Mogali Turi „ e) Kimmuri „ f) Chinnipuvutene „ g) Gandikota 	}	<p>Andhra Saraswatha Niketan, Rajamundry</p> <p>Published in 'Samadarsini' by Gudavalli Ramabrahma</p>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> h) 'Ekasila Vrittantam' 	<p>Andhra Saraswatha Parishat Kakinada</p>	

మన విద్యాలయాల్లో బోధింపబడే కొన్ని పాఠ్యాంశాల పరిశీలన

- కంభంపాటి సత్యనారాయణ.

బ్రిటిష్ పాలన అవిచ్ఛిన్నంగా కొనసాగుతున్నప్పుడే, డాక్టరు పట్టాభి సీతారామయ్య, మానికొండ సత్యనారాయణ, దిగవల్లి శివరావు, ముదిగంటి జగన్న శాస్త్రి ప్రభృతులు బ్రిటిష్ పాలకుల కుటిల నీతిని, కసాయి పాలనను బట్టబయలొనరుస్తూ వ్రాసిన అనేక గ్రంథాలు స్వాతంత్ర్యయోధులకు కరదీపికలుగా ఉపయోగపడ్డాయి కాని, దేశానికి స్వాతంత్ర్యం లభించి 30 ఏండ్లు కావస్తున్నా, ఆచర్య విద్యా విధాన మెలా ఉండాలో తెలియజేసే అనేక నివేదికలు ప్రభుత్వ పక్షన వెలువడినా పూర్వంలాగే బ్రిటిష్ పాలకుల్ని స్తోత్రపారాలతో ఆకాశాని కెత్తవలసిన అవసరమేమిటో బోధపడదు. క్రైపు, వారన్ హేస్టింగ్స్, కారన్ వాలిస్ ల వంటి సామ్రాజ్యవాద ప్రతినిధుల కాపట్యాన్నీ, అత్యాచారాలనూ ఖండిస్తూ కొందరు బ్రిటిష్ ప్రముఖులే గ్రంథాలు రచించి యుండగా, వారివి కొనియాడే వ్రాతల్ని యిప్పటికీ మన పాఠశాలల్లోను, కాలేజీల్లోను పాఠ్యాంశాలుగా నిర్ణయించే దౌర్భాగ్యస్థితి మన కెందుకో!

ఉదాహరణకు, 7 వ తరగతి సాంఘికశాస్త్రం 169వ పేజీలో, “బెంటింక్ భారత ప్రజల క్షేమం దృష్టిలో ఉంచుకొని బ్రిటిష్ సామ్రాజ్యాన్ని పటిష్ఠం చేశాడు”. అని వ్రాయబడియుంది. 191 వ పేజీలో మరొకచోట “గవర్నర్ జనరల్ అయిన కానింగ్ చాల నేర్పుతో విప్లవాన్ని (1857 నాటి స్వాతంత్ర్య సంగ్రామం) ఎదుర్కొని, ఉదారంగా ప్రవర్తించి, ప్రజల ఆదరాన్ని పొందగలిగాడు”, అని ఉంది.

ముక్కువచ్చలారని పిన్న వయస్కుల కిట్టి భావాలను వ్యాప్తిచేస్తే, వాటి ప్రభావం వారి మనస్సుల మీద ఎంత ప్రబలంగా ఉండగలదో ఊహించు కోవచ్చు.

ఇక ఇంటర్మీడియేట్ పాఠ్యగ్రంథాలలో కొన్నిటి తీరు తెన్ను రెలా ఉన్నాయో పరికిద్దాం. బెంగాల్ నవాబైన సిరాజుద్దౌలాను పదవీ భ్రష్టుని చేయడంలో లార్డ్ క్లైవ్ ప్రదర్శించిన కుటిల నీతి, లంచగొండితనం, దొంగ సంతకాలు చేయడం మొదలైన తుచ్ఛకృత్యాలు జగమెరిగిన సత్యాలు. కాని, 1972 ఇంటర్మీడియేట్ భారతదేశ చరిత్ర — ద్వితీయ భాగం, 112 వ పేజీలో క్లైవును ఊలా కొన్నియూద్ధం చూస్తాం : ‘నీతి లేనివాడుగా క్లైవును వర్ణించడం సర్వ సాధారణము. అమీన్ చంద్ ఘటనలో ఫోర్జరీ చేసినాడని, నమ్మించి సిరాజ్ పై కుట్ర పన్నినాడని, లక్షలకొద్దీ లంచాలు పుచ్చుకొన్నాడని క్లైవు మీద సేతాలు మోపుతారు. పార్లమెంటులో కూడ క్లైవు ప్రవర్తనను కొందరు విశిష్టంగా విమర్శించినారు. కాని, అతని దేశభక్తిని గాని, దేశ సేవను గాని ఎవరూ శంకించలేదు. క్లైవు కూడా తన నేరాలను ఒప్పుకొంటూ, అవి పరిస్థితుల ప్రభావం వల్ల జరిగివవని సమర్థించుకొన్నాడు ఆ నేరాలన్నీ దేశభక్తి ఉరుడై, మాతృదేశానికి అధిక్యము చేకూర్చడానికి చేసినవే.’

బ్రిటిష్ సామ్రాజ్యవాదున దృష్టిలో క్లైవు దేశభక్తుడైతే కావచ్చు. కాని, మన దేశంలో అతడు వచ్చి మోసగాడుగా, బందిపోటు దొంగగా వ్యవహరించాడు. అమీన్ చంద్ ని ఫోర్జరీ ద్వారా మోసగించడం బ్రిటిష్ పార్లమెంటరీ కమిటీకి నచ్చింది. అందుచేతనే, క్లైవు ప్రభు బిరుదంతో సన్మానించబడ్డాడు. ఇంటర్మీడియేట్ భారతదేశ చరిత్రకారుని అంచనాకూ, బ్రిటిష్ పాలకుల అంచనాకూ భేదమేముంది? క్లైవు లాంటి దేశభక్తుల్నే మనదేశంలో కూడా తయారు చేయాలని అతని ఉద్దేశం కాదుగదా :

అదే గ్రంథం 115 వ పేజీలో, “భారతదేశంలోని ఆంగ్ల సామ్రాజ్యాన్ని భారతీయ సామ్రాజ్యంగా మార్చిన ఖ్యాతి వెల్లెస్లీకి దక్కింది” అనీ, 118 వ పేజీలో, “అధునిక భారతదేశ నిర్మాత డల్ హౌసీ” అనీ, 159 వ

పేజీలో, “వారన్ హేస్టింగ్స్ భారతీయుల పట్ల సానుభూతి గలవాడు”, అని కొనియాడడం గమనిస్తాం.

ఇక, 1973 ఇంటర్మీడియేట్ భారతదేశ చరిత్ర - తృతీయ భాగం 31వ పేజీలో, రచయిత అంచనా ప్రకారం, గవర్నర్ జనరల్ రిప్పన్ “విశాల హృదయం గల మేధా సంపన్నుడు ...మన దేశాభివృద్ధి పట్ల మంచి ఆసక్తిని కనబరచిన ఉదారుడు.... మన ప్రజలు విద్యావంతులు కావడానికి, రాజకీయంగా చైతన్య వంతులు కావడానికి కృషి చేసిన మహనీయుడు.”

ఇలాంటి పారాయ్శాలతో మన విద్యార్థుల్ని ఉత్తమ దేశభక్తులుగా ఎలా తయారు చేయగలమో, దేశ స్వాతంత్ర్యం పట్ల వారిలో గౌరవ మెలా ఉద్దీపింప జేయగలమో ఆలోచించండి.

పోనీ, బి. ఏ., పార్యగ్రంథాలైనా సరిగా వ్రాయబడ్డాయా అంటే అవి యింతకంటే అధ్వాన్నంగా ఉన్నాయి.

1978 బి. ఏ., ‘భారతదేశ చరిత్ర-సంస్కృతి’ తృతీయ భాగం 313వ పేజీలో, క్లైవు అమీన్ చంద్ పట్ల వ్యవహరించిన కుటిలత్వాన్ని సమర్థిస్తూ క్లైవు కు “మోసం తప్ప వేరు మార్గం లేదు” అని కొనియాడడం చూస్తాం. 319-20 పేజీలలో “క్లైవు గొప్ప సాహసికుడు, యోధుడు, సేనాని ఫ్రెంచి వారిని పరాభవించి ఆంగ్ల వర్తకాన్ని పెంపొందించడంలో స్వాధ్యంతో పనిచేసినాడు. అవిసీతితో నిండిన స్వదేశస్తులను శిక్షించుటలో కుటిలత్వాన్ని ప్రదర్శించడానికి వెనుదీయలేదు. లంచగొండితనం, దొంగ సంతకాలు చేయడం వంటి తప్పులున్నా, ఆంగ్లేయు లితనిని ఉమించి విడిచినారు. ఇంగ్లండు దేశ ప్రధాన మంత్రి ఛాతమ్ యితనిని గురించి మాట్లాడుతూ, భువి నుండి దివికి దిగివచ్చిన సేనాని అని శ్లాఘించినాడు.”

బ్రిటిష్ ప్రధాని ఛాతమ్- క్లైవును కొనియాడుతూ చెప్పిన మాటలను ఉటంకించడంలో రచయిత ప్రదర్శించిన ఆసక్తిని ఏమనాలో తెలియదు.

1972 బి. ఏ., ‘భారతదేశ చరిత్ర - సంస్కృతి’ చతుర్థ భాగం 60 వ పేజీలో వారన్ హేస్టింగ్స్, కారన్ వాలిస్. వెల్లెస్లీ మొదలైన గవర్నర్

జనరల్స్ని కొనియాడుతూ, “వారు సామ్రాజ్య వ్యాప్తి తమ ముఖ్య ధ్యేయముగా తలపక, పరిపాలనలో అనేక మార్పులు గావించి, ప్రజల మన్ననలు పొందడానికి చాలా ప్రయత్నించినారు” అని వ్యాయబడివుంది. 63వ పేజీలో వారన్ హేస్టింగ్స్ భారతీయులకు ఉద్యోగాలు కల్పించాడనీ, వారి సహాయంతో ప్రభుత్వాన్ని సక్రమంగా నడపడానికి ప్రయత్నించాడనీ కాకమ్మ కథలు అల్లడం విపరీత మనస్తత్వం కాదా? 68వ పేజీలో వెల్లెస్లీ క్లైవు భార్యకు ఉత్తరం వ్రాస్తూ “తాను రాజ్యాల వెంట రాజ్యాలు, విజయాల వెంట విజయాలు, రాబడుల వెంట రాబడులు కుప్పలుగా నేకరిస్తాననీ, పై అధికారులు జాలి చూపించమని ఆదేశించే వరకు తానాపని చేసి, విఖ్యాతినీ అధికారాన్ని గడిస్తాననీ” చెప్పిన మాటలను ఉటంకించడం కంపర మెత్తించక మానదు.

అదే గ్రంథంలో మరికొన్ని ఆణిముత్యాలు “గవర్నర్ జనరల్ పదవిని అధిష్టించిన వారిలో బెంటింక్ ఉత్తమోత్తముడు” - 71వ పేజీ “డల్ హౌసీ కార్యదీక్ష, పట్టుదల అతని అనుచరులకు, క్రింది ఉద్యోగులకు ఒక గుణపాఠంగా ఉండేది” - 74వ పేజీ. “1857 తిరుగుబాటు గనక జయప్రద మైతే తమకే నష్టమని భావించి, అంగ్లేయులే గెలువ వలెనని దేవునికి కూడా ప్రజలు మొక్కుకున్నారు” - 100వ పేజీ. అదే పేజీలో రచయిత, “ప్రజల తిరుగుబాటులో చేరినట్లు ప్రామాణికాధారాలు లేవు” అనీ, అందుచేత “1857 తిరుగుబాటు మొదటి జాతీయ స్వాతంత్ర్య సమరమని చెప్పడానికి వీల్లేదు” అనీ, “అది సిపాయిల తిరుగుబాటు మాత్రమే” ననీ వ్రాశాడు.

రచయిత యీ వాక్యాలు వ్రాయడానికి 15 ఏండ్లకు ముందు, భారత ప్రభుత్వం ఆధ్వర్యాన ఆనేతు హిమాచలం 1857 ప్రథమ భారత స్వాతంత్ర్య సంగ్రామం యొక్క శతవార్షికోత్సవం అత్యంత వైభవంగా జరిగిందనే వీషయం శోతలకు జ్ఞాపకం ఉండియుంటుంది. ఆ సందర్భంలో రూస్సీ లక్ష్మీ బాయి, నానా సాహేబు, తాంతియాతోపేల వంటి యోధాగ్రేసరులు ప్రదర్శించిన పోరాట పటిమను, త్యాగ పరంపరను మనం కొనియాడేం. హైదరాబాద్ లో బ్రిటిష్ రెసిడెన్సీపై మన నైనికులు జరిపిన దాడి, ఔరంగాబాద్ లో మహమ్మదీయ సిపాయిల తిరుగుబాటు, వీటికి ప్రజలు చేసిన తోడ్పాటు చరిత్రాత్మకమైనట్టివి. కాని, రచయిత దృష్టిలో యీ తిరుగుబాటు స్వాతంత్ర్య సమరమే కాదు: జస్టిన్ మెకార్టీ అను బ్రిటిష్ చరిత్రకారుడు రచించిన ఈ

క్రింది వాక్యాలయినా రచయితకు కనువిప్పు కలిగించలేకపోయాయి. “అది తేవలం సిపాయిల తిరుగుబాటేకోదు. ఆంగ్లేయులు భారత దేశాన్ని ఆక్రమించు కున్నందుకు సిపాయిలలో వ్యాపించిన అసంతృప్తి, దేశీయులందరిలో చెలరేగిన ద్వేషం, అన్ని మతాల వారిలో కలిగిన అసహ్యత- యివన్నీ కలిసి తిరుగు బాటు రూపం ధరించాయి.” సర్ కీబర్ట్ గార్డినర్ బ్రిటిష్ పార్లమెంటుకు పంపిన రహస్య నివేదికలో యిలా తెలియజేశాడు. “భారత దేశపు తిరుగు బాటు రెండు లక్షణాలను కలిగియుంది. ఒకవైపు అది ప్రజల పోరాటం. రెండవవైపు సిపాయిల తిరుగుబాటు.... ఈ రెండూ కలిసి ఒక సాంఘిక విప్లవంగా సంలీన మయాయి.” కాని రచయితకు లభించిన చారిత్రక ఆధారాలు సామ్రాజ్య వాదుల ప్రచార గ్రంథాలు. వాటిలోని భావాలను చారిత్రక సత్యాలుగా విద్యార్థులకు బోధించడం భారతదేశానికి, భారత దేశ చరిత్రకూ కళంకం తెవడమే తప్ప వేరుకాదు.

భారత ప్రభుత్వం 1954 లో సోషలిస్టు తరహా సమాజ స్థాపన తన లక్ష్యమని ప్రకటించింది. సోషలిజమనే శబ్దాన్ని ఎవరెన్ని విధాలుగా వ్యాఖ్యానించినా, దానికొక శాస్త్రీయ నిర్వచనం ఉంది. సోషలిస్టు వ్యవస్థలో ఉత్పత్తి సాధనాలన్నీ భూమి, ఫ్యాక్టరీలు, గనులతో సహా సమాజం పరం చేయబడతాయి. సమాజమంటే ప్రభుత్వంకాదు. సమాజపరం చేయడమంటే, సమాజంపై దోపిడీ వర్గాల పెత్తనాన్ని పటాపంచ లొనర్చి, శ్రమజీవుల అధికారాన్ని సుస్థిరమొనర్చే ప్రభుత్వమూ, ప్రజా సంఘాలు ఉత్పత్తి సాధనాలను హస్తగతం చేసుకోవడ మన్నమూట. అంతేగాని, పెట్టుబడిదారీ వ్యవస్థను పెంచి పోషించే ప్రభుత్వం ఉత్పత్తి సాధనాలను తన చేతుల్లో ఉంచుకోడం సోషలిజం కాదు. రాజ్యాంగ చట్టం ప్రైవేట్ ఆస్తికి రక్షణ కల్పిస్తున్నప్పుడు, రాజ్యాంగ యంత్రం అవీరీతి, ఆశ్రిత పక్షపాతంతో నిండియున్నప్పుడు, ఓటర్లు తమ ప్రతినిధుల్ని వెనక్కు పిలిపించే హక్కు లేనప్పుడు, సమస్త రంగాలలో దోపిడీ వర్గాల పెత్తనం అవిచ్ఛిన్నంగా కొనసాగుతున్నప్పుడు ప్రజాఉద్యమాల్ని అణచేందుకు పోలీసులు, సైన్యం ఉపయోగింపబడుతున్నప్పుడు ప్రభుత్వ రంగ యాజమాన్యం సోషలిజాన్ని నిర్మించడం అ సాధ్యమైన విషయం. ఇట్టి పరిస్థితులలో, మన పార్లమెంటులు సోషలిజాన్నీ, ప్రభుత్వ యాజమాన్యాన్నీ కలగాపులగం చేస్తున్నాయి. సోషలిజం అనగా ప్రభుత్వ యాజమాన్యమని నిర్వచిస్తున్నాయి. ఇది దారుణమైన విషయం.

1973. ఎనిమిదవ తరగతి సాంఘిక శాస్త్రం 197 వ పేజీలో యలా ఉంది : “రాజ్యంలో భూమి, ప్రకృతి సంపద, ఉత్పత్తి సాధనాలు, వ్యాపారం మొదలైన ఆర్థిక వ్యవహారాలు ప్రభుత్వ యాజమాన్యంలో ఉండడం సోషలిజం యొక్క ముఖ్య లక్షణం కేపిటలిజంలో (పెట్టుబడిదారీ విధానం) ఇవన్నీ భూకామందులు, ఫ్యాక్టరీ యజమానులు, వ్యాపారస్తులు మొదలైన వ్యక్తుల యాజమాన్యంలో ఉంటాయి. ఇవన్నీ వ్యక్తుల ఆస్తులుగా ఉంటాయి. అలాగు కాక, సోషలిజంలో భూమి, గనులు, కర్మాగారాలు, రైలు మార్గాలు, నౌకలు, వాయు విమానాలు, బ్యాంకులు, భీమా కంపెనీలు మొదలైన ఆర్థిక వనరులన్నీ వ్యక్తుల ఆస్తులుగా కాకుండా, ప్రభుత్వ ఆస్తులుగా ఉంటాయి.” 8 వ తరగతి విద్యార్థులకు సోషలిజం అంటే స్పష్టమైన, శాస్త్రీయమైన నిర్వచనాన్ని యిచ్చి, దానిపట్ల అభిమానం రేకెత్తించడానికి బదులు, సోషలిజం వస్తే ప్రభుత్వం ఉత్పత్తిరంగాలన్నింటిలో యధేచ్ఛగా వ్యవహరిస్తుంది కాబోలు ననే అభిప్రాయాన్ని రచయిత కలిగిస్తున్నాడు. అదే గ్రంథం 203 వ పేజీలోని వాక్యాలు చదివితే సోషలిజంపట్ల విద్యార్థులకు ఖచ్చితమైన విముఖత కలుగుతుంది. ఆ వాక్యాలు యివి : సామ్యవాదం వ్యక్తుల స్వేచ్ఛకు, ఇష్ట వ్యవహారానికి అడ్డంకులు కలిగిస్తుంది. అంటే, వ్యక్తి స్వాతంత్ర్యం సన్నగిలుతుంది. వ్యర్థులకు పనిచేయడంలో ఆసక్తి, ఉత్సాహం తగ్గిపోతుంది. అంతా ప్రభుత్వమే నిర్ణయిస్తుంది గనుక, వ్యక్తుల స్వయం నిర్ణయం ఉండదు. స్వలాభార్జన దృష్టి ఉండదు గనుక, పనిచేసేవారు కష్టపడి పనిచేయరు. అందువల్ల ఉత్పత్తి తగ్గి, దేశానికి నష్టం కలుగుతుంది.”

మన రాజ్యాంగ చట్టంలో సోషలిజం ఒక ప్రధాన లక్షణంగా చేర్చబడిన తరుణంలో, పై వాక్యాలు “మనకొద్దీ సోషలిస్టు రాజ్యం” అని విలిపించేటట్టు లేవా? ఇంతకన్న పెట్టుబడిదారీ విధానమే మేలు అనుకొనేటట్లు చేయవా?

మన దేశం స్వాతంత్ర్యాన్ని సాధించుకోకముందునుంచీ పాపిజానీకి, పాసిస్టు నియంతృత్వానికి విముఖత ప్రదర్శిస్తున్నది. రాజకీయంగా పాపిజం ప్రజాస్వామ్యానికి బద్ధ శతృవు. ఆర్థికంగా గుత్తారీపతుల పెత్తనం, జోంగ్గూతికంగా ఆటవిక తత్వాల పుట్ట. జాబ్బుల పాపిజాన్ని, పాసిస్టు నియంతర్శీకొన్ని పార్యగ్రంథాలు అకాశానెకత్తవలసిన గతి ఏమిటట్లంటే దురూహ్యం.

ఉదాహరణకు, 1975 ఇంటర్మీడియేట్ పౌరశాస్త్ర ప్రథమ భాగం, 78, 79 పేజీలలో యీ క్రింది వాక్యాలున్నాయి : “ముసోలిని అనుసరించిన ఫాసిస్టు విధానాల వలన ఇటలీ పారిశ్రామికంగా, ఆర్థికంగా అభివృద్ధిచెంది, ప్రపంచంలో బలీయమైన రాజ్యాలలో ఒకటిగా తయారైంది. ఫాసిజం ఇటలీ ప్రజలలో జాతీయ భావాన్ని గట్టిగా నాటి, జాతీయ భావం దృఢంగా ఉంటే ఎటువంటి ఫలితాలు పొందవచ్చునో నిరూపించింది. ఫాసిజం ఇటలీ ప్రజలను చైతన్య ముతులుగా చేసి, కొత్త భావాలను, ఆలోచనలను రేకెత్తించింది ... ఫాసిజానికి ప్రత్యేకమైన రాజకీయ సూత్రాలు లేవు. ఆచరణాత్మకమైన కార్యక్రమాల వివరణే ఫాసిజం.”

1973 డి. ఏ., ఆధునిక ఐరోపా చరిత్ర ద్వితీయ భాగం కూడా, ఫాసిజాన్ని బాహాటంగా కొనియాడింది 111 - 112 పేజీలలోని వాక్యాలు బోధించే దేమంటే, ఫాసిజంలో యజమానులకు - కార్మికులకు మధ్య ఘర్షణలుండవు; ఆ ఉభయ వర్గాల ప్రతినిధులే పారిశ్రామిక శాంతిని నెలకొల్పుతారు, కార్మికులు తమ కోర్కెలకోసం సమ్మెలు చేయరాదు. ముసోలిని “పరిశ్రమాభివృద్ధి, రవాణా సౌకర్యాల అభివృద్ధికి ఎంతో పాటుపడినాడు ఇటలీ సౌభాగ్యానికి తగిన కృషి చేసినాడు ”

పై పాఠ్యభాగాల్నిబట్టి, వాటి రచయితలు విద్యార్థుల్ని ఫాసిస్టు సిద్ధాంతాలను అలవరచుకోమని బోధిస్తున్నట్లు లేదా ?

ఇక హిట్లరు విషయం. 1973 డి. ఏ., ఆధునిక ఐరోపా చరిత్ర ద్వితీయ భాగంలో రచయిత, నాజీ ప్రభుత్వంలోని అధిక మంత్రి షాట్ జర్మనీ దేశపు అధిక స్థితిని చక్కపెట్టినాడనీ, ఆయుధోత్పత్తికి సంబంధించిన పరికరాలను విదేశాల నుంచి వచ్చేటట్లు చేయగలిగాడనీ, ద్రవ్య నియంత్రణల వల్ల విదేశీ వర్తకం వస్తుమారక పద్ధతిలో జరిగేటట్లు చేశాడనీ, తత్ఫలితంగా ప్రజలపై పన్ను భారం లేకుండా చేశాడనీ, యీ కార్యక్రమాని కంతకూ హిట్లరు సహాయ పడ్డాడనీ ప్రస్తుతించాడు. ఇంతకంటే ఘోరమైన విషయం ఏమంటే, హిట్లరు దురాక్రమణ విధానాన్ని బాహాటంగా బలపరచిన బ్రిటిష్ ప్రధాని చాంబర్లెన్ శాంతికాముకుడని బోధించడం. చాంబర్లెన్ అనుసరించిన విధానాన్ని బ్రిటన్ తిరస్కరించిన విషయం, వానిస్థానే చర్చిల్ ని ప్రధానిగా ఎన్నుకొన్న విషయం జగద్విదితం. అయినా, మాన రచయిత పారిశ్రామిక

నత్యాన్ని మరుగుపరచి, 117 వ పేజీలో యిలా వ్రాశాడు . . .శాంతి కాముకు
డైన బ్రిటిష్ ప్రధాని ఛాంబర్లెను కృషితో మ్యూనిక్ ఒప్పందం జరిగింది.
దీని నసుసరించి, జర్మన్లు అధికశాతంగా ఉన్న భూభాగాలను జర్మనీకి యివ్వడ
మయింది."

ఈ విధంగా, పాసిస్టు నియంతల దురాక్రమణ విధానాన్ని, వారి అడు
గులకు మడుగులొత్తిన ఛాంబర్లెనునూ సమర్థిస్తూ పారాలు వ్రాయడం, వాటిని
పిన్నవయస్కులయిన విద్యార్థులకు బోధించడం, పరీక్షల్లో ఎక్కువమార్కులు
తెచ్చుకున్నవారికి ఫస్టుక్లాసు లీయడం- ఇవి మన విద్యా విధానంలోని విష
వీజాలు పీటిని ఏరివేయకపోతే, మన యువతీ యువకులు పాసిస్టు భావాలను
అలవరచుకొనే ప్రమాదం ఉంది దానివల్ల, ముందు ముందు దేశానికి ప్రమాద
మేర్పడవచ్చు.

మనదేశం స్వాతంత్రం సంపాదించుకొన్నప్పటి నుంచీ, సోషలిస్టు
దేశమైన సోవియట్ రష్యాతో స్నేహ సంబంధాలుంచుకొంటూంది. మన స్వాతం
త్ర్యాన్ని మనం కాపాడుకోవడంలో 30 సంవత్సరాలుగా సోవియట్ యూనియన్
మన కృషిని బలపరుస్తూ వచ్చింది. బంగ్లాదేశ్ పట్ల మనదేశం అనుసరించిన
స్నేహ, సహకార వైఖరిని సోవియట్ యూనియన్ బలపరచగా, అమెరికా
వ్యతిరేకించింది. అంతేకాదు మన సార్వభౌమాధికారాన్ని దెబ్బకొట్టే విధంగా
అమెరికా తన సత్తామనోకాదలాన్ని హిందూమహాసముద్రంలోనికి వంపినప్పుడు,
సోవియట్ యూనియన్ దాన్నెదుర్కోడానికి తన నౌకాబలాన్ని వంపింది. ఈ
పరిణామాలను మన విద్యార్థులు అర్థం చేసుకొనే విధంగా మన పాఠ్యగ్రంథా
లుండాలి. కాని, కొన్నిటిలోని పాఠ్య భాగాలు యిందుకు పూర్తిగా భిన్నంగా,
రష్యాపట్ల ద్వేషం పురిగొల్పేవిధంగా ఉన్నాయి. ముఖ్యంగా, రెండవ ప్రపంచ
యుద్ధంలో అత్యధిక నష్టాన్ని పొంది, యిండుమిండు ఒంటరిగా హిట్లరు సేన
లను ఓడించిన సోవియట్ యూనియన్ పై కొన్ని పాఠ్యగ్రంథాలు నీచాతనీచ
మైన అబద్ధాలు ప్రచారం చేస్తున్నాయి.

ఉదాహరణకు 1970 ఇంటర్మీడియేట్ పాఠశాస్త్రం ద్వితీయభాగం
242, 243 పేజీల్లో ఉన్న వాక్యాలమబట్టి. పాఠకులు మనముఖ మీద పడే
క్షుద్ర విమోచన: రష్యా పోలెండు సహాయానికి రాకుండాచేసి హిట్లరు

పోలెండ్ పై దండయాత్ర చేశాడు. దానిని వశపరచుకొన్న తర్వాత, జర్మనీ రష్యాలు ఆదేశాన్ని పంచుకొన్నాయి. అతర్వాత రష్యా లిథుయేనియా, ఎస్టోనియా, లాట్వియా లనూ, ఫిన్లాండ్ లో కొంతభాగాన్నీ కబళించింది. టర్కీ జలసంధుల నెవరు అక్రమించుకోవలనన్న విషయంపై హిట్లరు, స్టాలిన్ లకు అంగీకారం కుదరనందున, హిట్లరు అకస్మాత్తుగా 1941 జూన్ 22 న రష్యాపై దండయాత్ర చేశాడు. ఈ పాఠం అంతా చదివిన తర్వాత, విద్యార్థులు, రెండవ ప్రపంచ యుద్ధాన్ని రెండు దురాక్రమణకూటాల మధ్య యుద్ధంగా అర్థంచేసుకోడంలో ఆశ్చర్యంలేదు. 1978 బి. ఏ., ఆధునిక ఐరోపా చరిత్ర ద్వితీయ భాగం 123-124 పేజీల్లో రచయిత మరీ నమ్మశక్యంకాని అబదాలు వ్రాశాడు. ఉదాహరణకు, హిట్లరు పోలెండ్ పై దాడిచేసినప్పుడు బ్రిటన్ పోలెండుకు సహాయపడిందట! దానితో ఫ్రాన్స్ కూడా బ్రిటన్ తో చేరిందట! ఇది చరిత్రను అవభ్రంశ మొనర్చుడం తప్ప మరేమిటి?

1980 లో స్పెయిన్ లో జరిగిన ఆంతర్యుద్ధాన్ని కూడా మన పాఠ్యగ్రంథాలు వక్రంగా చిత్రిస్తున్నాయి. స్పెయిన్ లో పార్లమెంటరీ ఎన్నికలద్వారా అధికారంలోకి వచ్చిన సోషలిస్టు - కమ్యూనిస్టు - సిండికలిస్టు ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కూలద్రోయడానికి జనరల్ ఫ్రాంకో తిరుగుబాటు చేశాడు. ఫాసిస్టు దేశాలైన జర్మనీ, ఇటలీలనుంచి అతడు ఆధునిక మారణాయుధాలను, సాయధ బలాలను తెచ్చుకొన్నాడు. స్పానిష్ ప్రభుత్వానికి ఆనాడు అగ్రరాజ్యాలైన ఇంగ్లాండ్ కాని, ఫ్రాన్స్ గాని, అమెరికాగాని సహాయం చేయలేదు రష్యాదేశం ఒంటరిగా ఫాసిస్టురాజ్యాల దురాక్రమణను ఖండించడంతప్ప తనబలాలను పంపగల స్థితిలో లేదు. అందుచేత, స్పెయిన్ లో ఏర్పడ్డ ప్రజాప్రభుత్వం ఫాసిస్టురాజ్యాలకు ఆహూతి అయిపోయింది: జనరల్ ఫ్రాంకో ఫాసిస్టు నియంత అయ్యాడు.

వాస్తవ చరిత్ర ఇదయితే, 1978 బి. ఏ., ఆధునిక ఐరోపా చరిత్ర ద్వితీయ భాగం 121 వ పేజీలో వాస్తవాన్ని తలక్రిందులుచేసి, పచ్చిఅబద్ధాల్ని, ఫాసిస్టు రాజ్యాన్నీ, ప్రజాప్రభుత్వాన్నీ ఒకేగాటన కట్టింది. రచయిత మాటలలోనే చెప్పాలంటే: "స్పెయిన్ ప్రభుత్వము సామ్యవాద, సామాజిక జ్ఞాన్, (సోషలిస్టు, కమ్యూనిస్టు) పై ఖరీ నవలంబిస్తున్నదని తిరుగుబాటుదార్లు ఆరోపణ చేసినాడు. దాని నెదిరింపడానికి జ్ఞాతీయువాదులు పూనుకొన్నారు. నీరంతా ఫాసిస్టు పక్ష దోరణివారు, రెండు పక్షాలవారూ యితర దేశాలనుండి

ఆయుధ సామగ్రి, సహాయంపొందినారు తిరుగుబాటుదారులు తమ సిద్ధాంతాని కనుగుణంగా ఉన్నారు కాబట్టి జర్మనీ, ఇటలీలు ప్రాంకోకు మద్దతు యిచ్చినాయి స్పెయిన్ ప్రభుత్వము సోషలిస్టు, కమ్యూనిస్టు సిద్ధాంతాలకనుగుణంగా ఉండడంవల్ల రష్యా సహాయమిచ్చింది రెండు పక్షాలలోను విదేశ సహాయకులుచేరి పోరాడినారు స్పానిష్ ప్రజలు నిస్సహాయులై. తమ దేశంలో చిన్న ఐరోపా యుద్ధం జరుగుతూ ఉండడం చూస్తూఉరుకోవలసి వచ్చింది ఫ్రాన్స్ బ్రిటన్లు స్పెయిన్ రిపబ్లిక్కు సానుభూతి చూపినాయి. చివరకు ఈ యుద్ధం, ప్రజాసామ్య - కమ్యూనిస్టు సిద్ధాంతాల సంఘర్షణంగా పరిగణిత మయింది "

చివరి వ్యాక్యాన్ని బట్టి, రచయిత ఫాసిస్టు కూటమిని ప్రజాసామ్య పక్షంగా పరిగణిస్తున్నాడన్నమాట ఆచటి జాతీయోద్యమం యావత్తు స్పానిష్ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని బలపరచిందనే విషయంగాని, ఫాసిస్టురాజ్యాల ఊక్యాన్ని తీవ్రంగా ఖండించిందనిగాని, జవహర్లాల్ నెహ్రూ స్పానిష్ ప్రజల సాత్యవ్రత్యం పోరాటాన్ని తిలకించటానికి స్వయంగా యుద్ధరంగం వద్దకు వెళ్ళేదనే విషయంగాని రచయితకు తెలియదో, తెలిసినప్పటికి ఉద్దేశ పూర్వకంగా నిజాన్ని అబద్ధంగా చిత్రించ దలచుకొన్నాడో ఆయనే సంజాయిషీ చెప్పుకోవలసియుంది

రష్యా విప్లవాన్ని, రష్యావిధానాన్నికూడా కొన్ని పార్శ్వగ్రహణలు అవశ్యంకమొనర్చాయి సామ్రాజ్యవాదుల అబద్ధ ప్రచారాన్ని వేదవాక్యాలగా పరిగణించి, ఉన్నవి ఉన్నట్లుగా వాటిని ఉటంకించాయి 1979 డి సీ ఆధునిక ఐరోపా చరిత్ర ద్వితీయభాగం 102 వ పేజీలో, లెనిన్ స్విట్జర్లాండ్లో రహస్యజీవితం గడుపుతూ, విప్లవ సమయంలో రష్యాకు శతృదేశమైన జర్మనీ సహాయంతో రష్యాకు వచ్చాడనీ, అందుచేత అతడు దేశభక్తుడు కాడనీ ప్రాసించింది. రష్యాలో, ఇతర రాజకీయ పక్షాలన్నీ ఒక దానితర్వాత ఒకటి విప్లవానికి ద్రోహాచేయడం వల్లనే కమ్యూనిస్టు పార్టీ ఏకైక ప్రజాపక్షంగా మిగిలిందనే విషయం చరిత్రకారులందరికీ తెలుసు, అందుచేత అది అధికార పార్టీగా మిగిలింది. దాని ఉన్నతాధికార సంస్థ పొలిట్ బ్యూరో, అన్ని ప్రజాతంత్ర దేశాలలోలాగే, రష్యాలోకూడా, అధికారపక్షం ఆమోదించిన చట్టాలే శాసనాలవౌతాయి ఉత్పత్తి సాధనాలతోపాటు ప్రచారసాధనాలకూడా సమాజ యజమాన్యంలో ఉంటాయి అందువల్ల సహజంగా కమ్యూనిస్టువ్యతిరేక ప్రచారం

నిషిద్ధం. అంతమాత్రంచేత రష్యాలో స్వేచ్ఛా ప్రకటనలు నిషిద్ధంకావు. వాస్తవ ప్రతికల్లో అనేక సమస్యలపై పారకుల అభిప్రాయాలు ప్రకటింపబడతాయి. వాటిమీద ప్రభుత్వం చర్యతీసుకొంటుంది. వాస్తవమిలాఉండగా, ఐ రో పా చరిత్ర యిందుకు తలక్రిందులుగా 108వ పేజీలో యిలా వ్రాసింది: 'దేశంలో కమ్యూనిష్టుపార్టీ తప్ప ఏఇతర రాజకీయపక్షాలు ఉండకూడదు. వార్తాపత్రికలు రేడియో, సినిమా, విద్యాసంస్థలు—అన్నీ కమ్యూనిష్టు ధోరణిలోనే నిర్వహించవలె, కమ్యూనిష్టు ప్రచారం జరగవలె అదే (ప్రొలిట్ బ్యూరో)పార్టీ విధానాలను తయారుచేసి, ప్రభుత్వంచేత అమలులో పెట్టిస్తుంది. ఈ పద్ధతిలో పార్టీ ప్రభుత్వం ఏకైక విధానంలో నడువవలె. అందుచేత, కమ్యూనిష్టుపార్టీ ననుసరించి జరుగుతున్న ప్రభుత్వానికి కమ్యూనిష్టు నియంతృత్వం అను పేరు వచ్చింది.' 104 వ పేజీలో, మెన్షివిక్కులపై రక్తపాతం అమలు జరుపవలసిందనీ, దానితో ప్రతిఘటన అంతమయిందనీ, అనేక వేలమంది హతులయారనీ, సామ్రాజ్య వాదులల్లిన కాకమ్మ కథల్నే తిరిగి వల్లించడం జరిగింది. రష్యాలో అక్టోబరు విప్లవం రక్తపాత రహితమైనట్టిది. దాన్ని అణచదానికి విప్లవ ప్రతీఘాతక శక్తులు 14 దేశాల నైన్య సహాయంతో రక్తపాతాన్ని సృష్టించాయి. వారి ప్రతిఘటనను సోవియట్ ప్రభుత్వం ఆరు సంవత్సరాలు నిర్విరామంగా ప్రతిఘటించి విజయం సాధించింది. దీన్ని రక్తపాత సృష్టి అనగలమా?

అసత్యంతో నిండిన ఇట్టి పార్వగ్రంథాలను విద్యార్థులకోసం నిర్ణయించడంలో విద్యాశాఖాధికారులు ఉద్దేశ్యమేమిటో బోధపడదు. ఒకవైపు మన దేశం రష్యా మొదలైన సోషలిస్టు దేశాలతో స్నేహసంబంధాలుంచుకొంటూ, తన ఆర్థిక రాజకీయ స్వాతంత్ర్యాన్ని పటిష్టమొనర్చుకొంటుంది. మరోవైపు మన విద్యాలయాల్లో బోధింపబడే పాఠాలు రష్యావ్యతిరేక ప్రచారంతో నిండియుంటున్నాయి. ఇలాంటి పాఠాలే ఇకముందుకూడా కొనసాగితే, రష్యావల్ల మన దేశం అనుసరిస్తున్న విధానంపట్ల యువతరంలో విముఖతవ్యాపించవచ్చు.

మొత్తంమీద చూస్తే, మన హైస్కూళ్ళలోను, కళాశాలలోనూ బోధింపబడే కొన్నిపాఠ్యాంశాలు సామ్రాజ్యవాద, పాసిస్టు అనుకూలభావంతోను సోషలిజానికి సోషలిస్టు దేశాలకూ వ్యతిరేకమైన భావాలతోను నిండియున్నాయి. ఈ పాఠ్యాంశాలను గురించి మన విద్యాశాఖాధికారులు, విద్యార్థి సంఘాలు, ఉపాధ్యాయసంఘాలు ఏమనుకొంటున్నాయి? యువతరపు మనోవికాసానికి

యివి తోడ్పడతాయనుకొంటున్నాయా? ఉత్తమదేశభక్తులుగా వారిని తయారు చేయగలవనుకొంటున్నాయా? సోషలిజాన్ని గమ్యంగా బెట్టుకున్న మనదేశ పురోభివృద్ధికి యివి దోహదం చేస్తాయా? ఈప్రశ్నలకు సమాధానాలు చెప్ప వలసినవాధ్యత మేధావులందరిపైన ఉంది.

బ్రాహ్మణేతరోద్యమం - ఒక పరిశీలన

— అట్లూరి మురళి

మేధాసంపన్నులయిన కొందరు హిందూ మతాచారాలని ప్రశ్నించి పాశ్చాత్య శాస్త్రీయదృష్టితో సాంఘిక పునర్నిర్మాణాన్ని తలపెట్టి ఒక ముఖ్య పనిని వేశాన బ్రాహ్మణేతరోద్యమం ఆంధ్రదేశంలో వేళ్ళూనింది. మనదేశ సంఘాభివృద్ధిని అరకడుతున్న మూఢవిశ్వాసాలు, మతాలు మొదలైనవన్నీ తొలగించాలంటే ముందు మనభావాలు పూర్తిగా విప్లవపూరితం చేయవలసి వుంటుంది. భావ విప్లవం అంటే హిందూమతంలోని మూఢవిశ్వాసాలు సవాతనత్వం, నాశనంకావటం, భయం, మూఢవిశ్వాసాలు, అసహనదృష్టి, మతానికి పునాదులు, వీటిని తొలగిస్తే మతం, దానిమీద నిర్మించబడ్డ సాంఘిక వ్యవస్థ నామరూపాలులేకుండాపోయి, కొత్త సాంఘికవ్యవస్థ ఆవిర్భవిస్తుంది. ఈ భావ విప్లవానికి ముఖ్యంగా అడ్డువచ్చేది ఆదినుండి మతాధిపతులనే పేరుతో ఒక ప్రత్యేకర్గాన్ని సృష్టించుకొన్న బ్రాహ్మణులు - బ్రాహ్మణ తత్త్వం - అన్న అభిప్రాయముతో బ్రాహ్మణేతరోద్యమ నాయకులు తమ ఉద్యమాన్ని వడ్డిపారు.

ఈ బ్రాహ్మణాధిపత్యాన్ని తొలగించి బ్రాహ్మణేతరులకు సంఘంలో శ్రామి వ్యాయమైన, సమాన సాంఘిక ప్రయోజనాలు సమకూర్చుటానికి కొందరు మేధావులు గుంటూరుజిల్లాలోని కొల్లూరు ప్రాంతంలో బ్రాహ్మణేతరరోద్య మము అన్న పేరిట ఒక సాంఘిక విప్లవోద్యమాన్ని ప్రారంభించారు. మూల ప్రధానమైన శ్రీ సూర్యదేవర రాఘవయ్యచౌదరి (కొల్లూరు). జస్టిసుపార్టీ కన్న నొక సంవత్సరము ముందు, బ్రాహ్మణేతరోద్యమమును జరిపింపవేసి యిలు. వల్లు గుల్లయయినను నా సదుద్యమాభివృద్ధికి నిరంతరము పేవ

జేయుచున్నాను” అని రాఘవయ్యచౌదరి తన “బ్రాహ్మణేతర విజయము” [1925] అన్న గ్రంథము నందలి పీఞ్జిప్తిలో వ్రాసియున్నారు అదేగ్రంథ పీఞ్జిప్తిలో ఆయన తన అభిప్రాయమును ఉద్యమ పుట్టుకనుగూర్చి ఈక్రింది విధముగా తెల్పియున్నారు. “రాజ్యాంగము వారి [బ్రిటీషువారి] నిరంకుశత్వమును రూపుమాప యత్నించుచున్న యిక్కాలమున బ్రాహ్మణుల నిరంకుశ్యమును రూపుమాపి బ్రాహ్మణేతరులకు మన స్వతంత్ర్యత సంపాదించ బూనుట దేశానర్థకమను నవ్యక్తపు వాదన జనించుటకు హేతువెద్దియో విరూపింపజాలకున్నాము

‘అయితే యితరులువచ్చి దేశమనెడి గృహమున కగ్నిముట్టించుచుండ దేశములో నాకరిలో నొకరు కలహించుట భావ్యముగాదని యవిచారణతో చెప్పవత్తురేమో! అన్యదేశీయులువచ్చి దేశమును గృహమున కగ్నిముట్టించుచుండిరని యొప్పుకొందుము ఈ బ్రాహ్మణులుచేయు ఘనకార్యమేమి? దేశమనెడి గృహమున కల్పితవ నీచత్వముల నారోపించి బడబాగ్ని మట్టించినారు. విదేశీయు లగ్నిముట్టించుటకంటె స్వదేశీయులు బడబాగ్నిని ముట్టించుటతి ఘోరము రాజ్యాంగము వారి చైదము లగ్నివంటివైన బ్రాహ్మణుల చర్యలు బడబాగ్నివంటి వనుట నిర్వివాదాంశము ఎటులనగా —

రాజ్యాంగమువారు

బ్రాహ్మణులు

విదేశీయులు

స్వదేశీయులు

అన్య మతస్తులు

ఏక మతస్తులు

నిరంకుశత్వము రాజకీయములం

నిరంకుశత్వము సాంఘిక ఆర్థిక

దు మాత్రమే

రాజకీయాదులయందు

“ఈ పై విషయంబుల పరిశీలించి నాల్గవభాగము వరించినవారికి బ్రాహ్మణుల శాసన నిరంకుశత్వమే హెచ్చని సుబోధకంబగును. అందుచే బ్రాహ్మణేతర మత స్వతంత్ర్యత నసహరించి సాంఘిక ఆర్థికాదివిషయములలో నానర్హులజేసిన బ్రాహ్మణుల చర్యలు బడబాగ్నివంటివనుట చెల్లును. ఈవిధమున బొందుపఱుపబడిన బ్రాహ్మణ కల్పిత వ్రమాణములు బ్రాహ్మణేతరుల నెంత యల్పత్వ నీచత్వములకు బాల్పడజేసి యఖిల సంపదల కనర్హుల గావించెను

చినది దర్పణము భాతిగన్పట్టుచున్నది. భారతీయులలో జనసంఖ్యయందు 100 కి 97 గురుగల బ్రాహ్మణేతర సంఘమును 100 కి 3 గురుగల బ్రాహ్మణ సంఘము యివ్విధి సల్పత్వ సీచత్వములకు బాల్పడజేసియుండ తన్నివారణ జేయుటవసరము. స్వరాజ్య సంపాదనమాత్రము చేయుదమనుట యనాలోచితము. అల్పత్వసీచత్వముల నంగీకరించిన యగౌరవాపేక్షపరులు రాజ్యసంపాదన జేయుటయు సున్నయే. అధవా గల్గినను స్థిరముగా నిల్చుటయు సున్నయే మేమిటుల వ్రాయుట స్వరాజ్యమక్కరలేదనుటకుగాదు. స్వరాజ్య సంపాదనతోపాటు సాంఘికాది విషయంబులలో మనో స్వాతంత్ర్యతను సంపాదించి యంతదనుక నారోపింపబడిన యల్పత్వ సీచత్వములను హరింపజేసి ఆత్మగౌరవాభివృద్ధి గావించుకొనవలెనని మాతలంపు. ఇట్లు బ్రాహ్మణేతర సంఘము సాంఘిక సత్యసంపాదనజేయుట ముఖ్యమని ఆంధ్రపత్రికయు వచింపుచున్నది.

“సాంఘికార్థికాదుల విషయమై బ్రాహ్మణేతర సంఘము నిరంతరము దేశ క్షేమమునకై కృషిజేయవలసి యున్నది.

బ్రాహ్మణేతరోద్యమమును తిన్నగ నడుపుచో నెట్టి యాక్షేపణయుండ జాలదు. ఏలనన ప్రజామామాన్యమునందు యధిక సంఖ్యాకులు బ్రాహ్మణేతరులగుటచే వారి యభ్యుదయమే హిందూ దేశాభ్యుదయమగును. ఇంత కన్నను కావలసిన దేమిగలదు? బ్రాహ్మణేతరులను ఆర్థికముగనేమి సాంఘికముగ నేమి బైకిదెచ్చుటకీ యుద్యమము నుపయోగించుచో దేశమునకు లాభము కలుగుననుటకు సందియములేదు.”

తేది 26-4-1925

ఆంధ్రదినపత్రిక — ప్రధానవ్యాసము.

పైన చెప్పిన పత్రిక అభిప్రాయమునుగాని, ఆయన ఉద్యమ ఉద్దేశ్యమునుగాని పరిశీలించిన, సూర్యదేవరవారితత్త్వము వ్యక్తిగతముగా బ్రాహ్మణునినిందించుటకాదని స్పష్టమగుచున్నది. జాతి మాత్రోపజీవులగు బ్రాహ్మణ బ్రాహ్మణాదులకథ అతనికిపట్టదు. బ్రాహ్మణ వామధారులై నిరంకుశులైన కొందఱి వాదములను ఖండించుటయే అతని పరాయణము, “ఆయన వ్రాసిన అర్థకవి కుతంత్రము, బ్రాహ్మణేతరవిజయము. విప్రకులభరితశ్రిః పంచముల

చరిత్ర మొదలగువని రచయిత. సంఘాభిమానమును, సంస్కరణాభి
లాషను తెల్పును అంతయకాదు, ఆయననుజూచి ద్వేషించిన బ్రాహ్మ
ణుడు లేడు ఆయనచే దూషింపబడిన బ్రాహ్మణుడులేడు కొల్లూరులో
ఆయన బ్రాహ్మణపీఠిలో పోవుచుండగా తనపంచలో పరుండియున్న మూడు
కొళ్ళ ముదుసలిని తము లేచివిల్చి మర్యాదచూపెడివారని వార్తలు విందుము.
ఆయనచేసినది స్వసంఘోద్ధరణము, తద్వారా సనాతనత్వ ఇసుపిడికి బం
ధించబడియున్న సాంఘికోద్ధరణము అంతయగాని బ్రాహ్మణజాతి నిందగాదు.
ఖాపూజీ భారతీలయులకు నేర్పిన ప్రధానబోధయు ఇట్టిదే. ఆంగ్లేయులను
ద్వేషింపరాదు, చంపరాదు, వారి నిరంకుశత్వమును అడ్డగించి, ఆ నిరంకుశ
త్వమునకులోనై హతాశులై నవారిని ఉద్ధరింపవలెనన్నదే గాంధీజీ తత్వము,
ఈ తత్త్వమే రాఘవయ్య - త్రిపురనేని రామస్వామిచౌదరులలో గూడిఉన్న
దనుటకు అనేక తార్కాణములున్నవి ఆయనకు తోడుగా నడచిన విద్యాధి
కులలో రామస్వామి కాక, శ్రీ మత్పురమహంస గోపాల నచ్చిదానంద
బ్రహ్మేంద్రసరస్వతి స్వాములవాడు ముఖ్యులు

శ్రీ సూర్యదేవర రాఘవయ్యచౌదరిగారు కొల్లూరునభ తదుపరి అనేక
ఘట్టాలనర్చి బ్రాహ్మణతత్వమును బాహాటముగా ఎదుర్కొని, ఆ తత్వ కుతం
త్రములను వెల్లడించెను ఆయన ముఖ్యముగా స్వసంఘ పోరోహిత్య
చిర్రాత పీఠి వాదనలన్నీ ముఖ్యంగా వర్ణ వ్యవస్థనుగూర్చి, సాంఘిక దోష
ములనుగూర్చి. శూద్ర మొదలగు శబ్దముల నిర్ణయమునుగూర్చి జరుగుచుం
డెడివి పీఠి మొట్టమొదటి కొల్లూరు [1916] చర్చ తదుపరి ఈ ఉద్యమము
బాహాటముగాబెరిగి ఇతర మండలములకుగూడ ఎగబ్రాణిసినది. తత్ఫలిత
ముగా బ్రాహ్మణేతర సంఘములో కొన్ని శాఖలలో స్వసంఘపోరోహిత్యముతో
పాటుగా వేదాధ్యయనము - శ్రేతక్రియలు చక్కగాసాగినవి జందెములు
వేసిరి బ్రాహ్మణులతో పనిలేకయే స్వసంఘియులే వివాహాది సర్వకృతు
వులు నెఱవేర్చుకొనిరి.

కాని ఈయన 1937 లోనే చనిపోయెను. తదుపరి ఈ ఉద్యమనాయక
త్వమును శ్రీ త్రిపురనేని రామస్వామిచౌదరిగారుచేపట్టిరి “కవిరాజు” త్రిపుర
నేని రామస్వామిచౌదరి, బారెట్ల ఈయన మాతపురాణము, నాలుగాళ్ళాసములు
మొదలగు కుదుర్చిత్ర పంగ్రామము, భగవద్గీత, శంభుక వధ మున్నగు గ్రంథ

రచయిత. ఆంధ్రమహాసభవారీయన కవితకుమెచ్చి 'కవిరాజ'ని బిరుదమిచ్చిరి. వీరికి గుడివాడలో గజారోహణాది యఖండ సన్మానములు జరిగెను. 1942 లో చనిపోయెను. కవులు పోయినా వాళ్ళ గొంతులుమాత్రం గాలిలో నంచరిస్తూనే ఉంటాయి, నదుల్ని, కొండల్ని, దేశాన్ని, సమాజాన్ని, సంస్కృతిన రక్షిస్తూ.

సాహిత్యం ఒక పరమార్థ సాధనకు సాధనం మాత్రమే. పరమార్థం లోకహితం మనం జీవితములో మంచివాళ్ళకోసం ఆన్వేషించుట మొదలు పెట్టితే, చివరకు లక్ష సద్గ్రంథాలు దొరుకుతాయిగానీ ఒక్కసజ్జనుడు దొరకడం దుర్లభం. త్రిపురనేని రామస్వామిచౌదరి మన తెలుగుగడ్డకు లభించిన అలాంటి సజ్జనులలో ఒకరు అంతేగాక ఆయన ఆనాటి రాజకీయపక్షములో మేలుబంతినిగూర్చుండి దేశసేవచేసిన మహావ్యక్తి. ఆ రాజకీయ పక్షములో జేరి మహాన్నత పదవులందుకొన్నవారు కొందఱుండవచ్చును. కాని, ఆస్పార్థము పొంతకేపోవక ఒకానొక బలీయమైన ఉద్యమమును అవలంబించి కవితా ఖడ్గము కేలబట్టి దురాచారములను పటపట కోయగలనేర్పు రామస్వామిచౌదరికి దక్కింది. ఈదృష్టిలో తెలుగు నేలలో రామస్వామిచౌదరి బంతిలో కూర్చుండదగినవాడు ఒక్క వీరేశలింగము పంతులుగారే కన్పించుచున్నారు. ఒక విధముగా తెలుగుజాతికి రాఘవయ్య, కందుకూరి, త్రిపురనేని, ఈ మువ్వరు యుగపురుషులు లేదా యుగకర్తలు అనవచ్చును అని కొత్త సత్య నారాయణచౌదరిగారు వ్యక్తపరచినారు.

త్రిపురనేని కేవల పరోపదేశమేగాక, ఈ యన్నింటను తాను ఆచరణ ములోజూపి మార్గదర్శిఅయ్యెను. గీర్వాణములోగాజరుగు ఈ వైవాహిక విధానముకూడ వధూవరులకు వారి బంధువులకు దెలియదు గావున ఇక్కడ గూడ రామస్వామిచౌదరి ఒక మంచి సంస్కరణ కావించెను. "వివాహవిధి" అనిపేరుపెట్టి తెలుగులో చక్కనిగ్రంథము ప్రకటించి దాని యాధారముచే ఎన్నో పెండ్లిండ్లు తాను చేయించుటేగాక, తన్మతానుయాయులచేతనుగూడ చేయించెను. ఇప్పటికి ఆయా ప్రాంతములలో ఈ యాచారము చక్కగా జరుగుచున్నది పూర్వవివాహ విధానములోని దుర్వ్యయము, దురాచారము, మున్నగునవి లేక సామాన్యగృహస్థునిగూడ ఒకయింటివానిని జేయుటలో ఈ వివాహవిధి ఎంతో సహకరించుచున్నది.

ధైర్యమూ, నీతిరచయితకు రెండు నేత్రాలు, నీతికి ధైర్యం, ధైర్యానికి నీతి పరస్పర పరివర్తకాలు, ఇవిలేని రచయిత గుడ్డివాడు. ఏమి వ్రాస్తాడు? అతడి వ్రాతలు లోకానికి ఏ ఉపకారము చేస్తాయి? రచయిత అంధ తమస్సులో దారికోసం తడుముకుంటూ ఉండే, అకన్నాధారంగా తీసికొని లొకం వెలుగునేం చూడగలుగుతుంది కానని వాని సూతగొని కాననివాడు విశిష్ట వస్తువుల్లో కాన విభంగి” అవుతుంది సాహిత్యం వాయుగుంభనకాదు అది ఒక మహోజ్వల కాంతి పుంజం ఆజ్ఞానాంధకారాన్ని పటాపంచలు చెయ్యాలి భయవిహ్వాలమై అలనుటించే లోకానికి ధైర్యం కల్పించాలి. వెలుగునిచూపాలి. ఇది నిజమైన కవిత్వంయొక్క సరైన ఉద్దేశ్యం

పిల్లవాడికి బడికంటే గోరీకాయలాటలో ఆసక్తి ఎక్కువ మనిషికి జీవనసత్యంకంటే జీవనమాయలో ఆకర్షణ ఎక్కువ పిల్లవానిని, సక్రమమైన పంథాలో పెట్టడం తండ్రికి ఎంతవసరమో, మాయలో అకర్షితమైన ఈ ప్రజలను సక్రమమైన మార్గంలో నడిపించడం కవికి [సాహిత్యానికి] అంతే అవసరం ఉంది

మనిషికో గొంతెలాకావాలి, యుగానికో కవి అలా కావాలి ఈ కవి మళ్ళీమళ్ళీ పుడుతుంటాడు. కొత్తరూపంలో, కొత్తదుస్తులలో కొత్తపాట పాడుతూ, కొత్తగా సిద్ధాంతీకరిస్తూ, అంతేగాక జ్ఞాన చతువు చూచింది చెప్పుతాడు కవి

రచనల మూలమున ఎన్నో సంస్కరణములచేసి తెలుగువారికి వెలుగు చూపినవారిలో వీరేశలింగముపంతులు బంధిలో మొదటివాడు ఈ శ్రోతలోనే “త్రిపురనేని” నైతము నడచి వజ్రాయుధమువంటి కవితాశక్తిని వినియోగించి చేయదగిన విప్లవమును చేసి చూపెను ముమ్మొదట కవిలాజున కెదురైనవి రామాయణ—భారత—భాగవత గ్రంథములు ఆ కథలు పదింబదిగా పరిశీలించి లోతుపాతులు గుర్తించి హేతువాదమును నాయుధమును జేపట్టి సర్వతోముఖమైన చికిత్సచేసెను.

కవిరాజు తన కవిత్వమహత్వమును కేవలము శృంగార విలాసములకు, ధనభాగ్యములకు, భోగభాగ్యములకు, పేరుప్రతిష్ఠలకు, వినియోగింపక

సంఘముకోసమై, సమాజముకోసమై యుపయోగించెను. ఇదే విషయము సూతపురాణమున ఆయన స్పష్టపరిచెను

ప్రాచీన సదాచారములు బక్కచిక్కి నడుమంతరపు దురాచారములు దొరతనమునకు వచ్చినవి. ఆ దురాచారపిశాచము కన్న సంతానములో “కుల వైషమ్యము” దొడ్డదైన ఒక పెద్దబిడ్డ. జాతి వాండ్రను అణగద్రొక్కి తన చెప్పుచేతలలో నడిపించుటకు దీన్నిమించిప ఆయుధము వేటొకటిలేదు. కాల క్రమమున — ఈ దురాచారములకు, స్మృతులు, పురాణములు పెట్టనకోటగా పరిధవించెను, ఆచారము - శాస్త్రము అధికారము ముప్పిరిదాసి. ఈకోటలు పేటలు పెరిగి పెద్దవయ్యెనని కొత్త సత్యన్నారాయణు చొదరిగారు. వ్రాసి యున్నారు అట్టి యీ కోటలను బద్దలుచేయుటకే కవిరాజు కవిత్వమను కత్తిని తేతబట్టెను కొంతవరకు సఫలీకృతుడాయెను

కవిరాజు కావ్యములకెల్ల ప్రధానవస్తువు “ఆర్య ద్రావిడ” చరిత్ర ఈ చరిత్రను ఇంతగా తెలుగువారికి పనిపించినవారు కనిపించరు. ఆర్య ద్రావిడ కథల మూలమున భారతదేశములో పాదుకొనిపోయిన వర్ణవ్యవస్థను దురాచారములను - దురాగతములను - దుండగములను, తుళ్లునియలుగా తుండ తుండెములుగా ఖండించి చీల్చి చెండాడిన మొదటివీరుడు కవిరాజు.

దేవుణ్ణి ఆవతలకునెట్టి, మానవుణ్ణి కేంద్రంలో సంస్థాపితం చేయడానికి ఆంధ్రదేశంలో కవిరాజుదే మొట్టమొదటి గట్టి ప్రయత్నం. ఈ ప్రయత్నం వారి భగవద్గీతారచనతో పరాకాష్ఠమందుకొన్నది. అంతేగాక గౌతమబుద్ధుడు యజ్ఞయాగాదులయెడ చూపిన తిరస్కృతి, ఆస్తికభావమునెడల చూపిన ఉదాసీనత, మానవులయెడల, ప్రాణిజాతియెడలచూపిన అసక్తి, కరుణాభావము కవిరాజును కదలించినవి ఉత్తేజ పరచినవి - అని ఆయనే తన సూతపురాణం మొదటిభాగమునందు నుడివియున్నారు

ఆయన భారతదేశంలో వర్ణవ్యవస్థను విమర్శిస్తున్నప్పుడు, అమెరికా లోను, దక్షిణాఫ్రికాలోనూ శ్వేతజాతీయుల ఆహంకారాన్ని దుయ్యబట్టి, అమె రికాలోని నీగ్రోలబాధలను వివరించారు. సాంఘిక, సమాజత్యాగే కవి రాజుగారి ఆదర్శం.

శంబుకవధ, ఖానీ ఉపోద్ఘాతములు విశిష్టమైనవి. శంబుకవధ ఉపోద్ఘాతంలో ఆర్యద్రావిడ నాగరకతలను పరిశీలించారు ఖానీ ఉపోద్ఘాతంలో కవిరాజుగారు నాస్తికత్వంపై తమ అభిప్రాయాలను విశదీకరించి, సమర్థించారు. “ఆస్తికత్వము ప్రపంచ పరిణామమునకు నాటకములు కలంగజేసెను గాని, తోడ్పడలేదని గట్టిఁ జెప్పవచ్చును” అని ఉద్ఘాటించారు, ఆయన మతం పొట్టనబెట్టుకొన్న మహాపురుషులకు ఉదాహరణగా కో-పర్నికన్ ను ఉదాహరించారు. కవిరాజు అస్తికుడుగాని, నాస్తికుడా అన్నవారు ఖానీ ఉపోద్ఘాతాన్ని జాగ్రత్తగా పరిశీలించిన నాస్తికుడేయని నిర్ణయించుకొనగలరు. భగవద్గీత ఉపోద్ఘాతంలో కురుక్షేత్రం కారెంపూడి యుద్ధాలలోని పోలికలు, తేడాలను వివరించారు.

వారిని కేవలం కవిగా మాత్రమే లోకంచూస్తే, వారి హేతువాదానికి, తాత్త్విక దృష్టికి అపచారం జరుగుతుంది.

“వస్తుతః కవిరాజు జిజ్ఞాసువు - అందువల్ల విమర్శకుడు, పాషండుడు” నాస్తికుడు, విప్లవవాది, సంస్కర్త. ఆయన భావాలుగాని, ఆ భావాలను ప్రకటించడానికి యెంచుకొన్న సాధనంకాని, తదాచరణ విధానంగాని తన పూర్వోలకున్న వానికంటేభిన్నం. అందువలన సంఘ సంస్కరణకోసం కవిరాజు త్రొక్కిన మార్గంలో మనకు విశిష్టత కనిపిస్తుంది: కాన సంస్కర్తగా, భావ విప్లవోద్యమకర్తగా ఆయన స్థానం తెలుగునాటికి తేజాన్ని యిచ్చింది: ఆయన అందించినజ్యోతిని వాడవాడలకూ తీసుకొనివెళ్ళడము మనవిధి,” అని కొత్త సత్యనారాయణగారు తన “కవిరాజు” అను గ్రంథమున వ్రాసినారు.

కవిరాజు పురాణవైరాన్ని పాటించినప్పుడుండు నైహిలిస్టుగా, ఐకనోక్లాస్టుగావున్నాడు. పాతదానిమీద అనుమానాన్ని పుట్టించి ప్రజల మనసుల్నుంచి సనాతనభాందసభావాలని తొలగించివేశారు పురాణాలని గుడ్డిగా వమ్మక, ప్రశ్నించే వివేచనని ప్రజలకి కలిగించారు. సూతపురాణాలనుండి గీతకు, ఖానీకి వచ్చేసరికి, కవిరాజులో హేతువాదం ప్రకటితమై వెన్నుముదిరినది. ఖానీ పీఠికలు, గీత భూమికలు దీనికి ప్రత్యక్షర విదర్శనాలు. ~~అందువల్ల~~ **అందువల్ల** మారేనాటికి నాస్తికుడుగా మారినారు.

సాంఘిక దౌష్ట్యాలమీద దాడి, లోపాలనెత్తిచూపుట, విమర్శించి మరో మార్గాన్ని చూపుటలో కవిత్వస్థాయి కందుట కవిరాజు యేకైక విశిష్టత.

ఈ తీరుతెన్నులు పరిశీలించి కవిరాజు త్రిపురనేని భావపరిణామచ్ఛాయల్ని. స్థూలరూపంలో గ్రహించవచ్చు.

ఒకసారి సంజీవదేవ్ “సూతాశ్రమం”లో గోపీచంద్ ను కలిసికొనబోయి అచ్చట త్రిపురనేని చూడటం, మాట్లాడటం జరిగిందట, ఆయనను గురించి కవిరాజదర్శనంఅనే పుస్తకములో “ఒక జ్ఞాపకం” అనే తనవ్యాసంలో “అతిగా సంఘంలోనూ కలిసిపోరాదు, అతిగా సంఘానికి దూరంగానూ వుండరాదు” అన్నారని వెంటనే సంజీవదేవ్ కు బ్రాడ్లీ మాటలు గుర్తుకొచ్చి -

“Man is not man at all unless social, but he is not much above the beasts unless more than social” అని అన్నారట. “అవును అదే సక్రమ దృక్పథం. చక్కగా చెప్పేడు బ్రాడ్లీ. నిజంగా చాలా బాగుంది.” అని త్రిపురనేని అన్నారని వ్రాసినారు. దీనినిబట్టికూడా సంఘంపై ఆయన అభిప్రాయం మనకు తెలియనగును.

కనుక ఆయనవ్రాసిన రచనలు, ఆయన జీవితంకూడ పరిశీలించినచో కవిరాజు ఒక పాషండుడా, అబ్రాహ్మణుడా, నా స్తికుడా లేక నిహిలిస్టో అయినందున పురాణాలపై, మతగ్రంథాలపై, బ్రాహ్మణతత్వంపై దండెత్తలేదని స్పష్టమవుతుంది. ఆయనకు మనిషిముఖ్యం. ఏ వంకతోనైనాసరే మనిషి స్వేచ్ఛను, అతడిలోని మానవత్వాన్ని కుంచించటాన్ని ఆయనఅంగీకరింపడు: మానవస్వేచ్ఛకు అవరోధాలైన మన సాంఘికవ్యవస్థలను, పాతభావాలను తూర్పారబట్టి ఆయన మానవతా ఉద్యమానికొక కొత్తబలమును సమకూర్చినాడు: హిందూ మతమునకు మూలస్తంభాలుగా చెప్పదగిన కర్మవాదమును, పునర్జన్మ, వర్ణవిభజన సిద్ధాంతములను ఆయన త్రోసిరాజన్నారు. [సూత పురాణము 1-వ భాగములో స్పష్టము]

సమాజమున కుపదేశించి బాగుచేయడమే రచయిత ధర్మము అని జాననను వ్రాసెను:

కవి రాజుట్టి కార్యమునేచేసెను: కాని కులభేదములతో విండియున్న ఆంధ్రదేశము, కవిరాజు మహత్తుని గుర్తించలేదు: ఈయన ద్వివీర్యకృషి

“శంఖుకవధ” వెలుగును జూచుటతోడనే ఆవరకే ఏర్పడ్డ తప్పు అభిప్రాయములు ప్రబలమై ఈయన బ్రాహ్మణద్వేషియనీ, ఈ ఉద్యమము కేవలం బ్రాహ్మణజాతిని అణచడానికి, కించపరచడానికి వచ్చిందని, ‘గోబెల్సు’ ప్రచారము సాగినది వాస్తవముగా ఈయన మధ్యకాలములో నేర్పడ్డ బ్రాహ్మణమతమునకు, తత్త్వమునకు, పురోహితుల కర్మకాండకు విరోధికాని, బ్రాహ్మణపై రిహారు ఉన్నవ లక్ష్మీనారాయణగారివంటి సద్బ్రాహ్మణులీయనమిత్రులు.

దాస్యవిమోచనము” అనునని నాగరకత అధికార పూర్వకముగా కోరుట్టిది: కనుక స్త్రీలకు, కూద్రులకు, హరిజనులకు, శాస్త్రదాస్యమునుండి ముక్తికావలెను కవిరాజీ భావముతోనే తన సాహిత్యము నారంభించెను. తద్వారా ఉద్యమమును పెంపొందించెను! అంతియకాని బ్రాహ్మణులను వ్యక్తిగతముగా వ్యతిరేకించుటకు ఉద్భవించినదికాదు ధూర్తమానవా మున్నగు గ్రంథములు మతాచార్యులపైనా, సంఘంలో వారి దురాగతాలపై గ దాడులేగాని వ్యక్తిగతంగా బ్రాహ్మణులకు వ్యతిరేకమైనవికావు కనుక బ్రాహ్మణేతర ఉద్యమం బ్రాహ్మణులకు వ్యక్తిగత వ్యతిరేక ఉద్యమము అనెడి తప్పు అభిప్రాయమును విడనాడి అది బ్రాహ్మణతత్త్వానికి వ్యతిరేక ఉద్యమమని, తద్వారా సంఘోద్ధరణోద్యమాన్ని గుర్తించుట ఎంతయిన అవసరము.

ఆంధ్రదేశములో గురుజాడ అప్పారావు, కందుకూరి వీరేశలింగము, రఘుపతి వెంకటరత్నమునాయుడు, కాశీనాథుని నాగేశ్వరరావు ఉన్నమ లక్ష్మీనారాయణ, గోపరాజు రామచంద్రరావుగార్లు, కనిరాజు సమకాలీనులు పై వారెల్లరు అస్పృశ్యతను, బాల్య వివాహములను, విరసించిరి. వితంతు వివాహములు, ప్రోత్సహించిరి మనోశుద్ధతకారకు విగ్రహారాధన మామూలు జనులు కవసరమని పై వారిలో గొందరికి నమ్మకముకలదు, ఇంకను వేమన, బ్రహ్మముగారు మున్నగువారు కులభేదముల, విరసించిరి. కవిరాజు కూడా ఈ కోవకు చెందినవాడే ఆయన బ్రాహ్మణేతరోద్యమముకూడా ఈ కోవకు చెందిన సంఘసంస్కరణోద్యమమే

అటులకాక గుణకర్మములనుబట్టి బ్రాహ్మ్యము దక్కునని నిర్ణయించిన స్మృతుల దృష్టిలో పరిక్షించినచో వ్యవహారములో ఉన్న బ్రాహ్మణుడు బ్రాహ్మణుడే కాదు, క్షత్రియుడు క్షత్రియుడేకాదు, వైశ్యుడు వైశ్యుడు

అందఱు కాదు శూద్రులో చండాలురో కావలసియుండును. కలియుగములో బ్రాహ్మణుడే ఉండడని. “బృహన్నారదీయములో” చెప్పనేచెప్పెను. ఆ పక్షములో “బ్రాహ్మణద్వేష” మన్న ప్రస్తావమునకే అవకాశములేదు. కొత్త సత్యనారాయణగారు “కవిరాజు” యను పుస్తకమునందు తమ అభిప్రాయము వ్యక్తపరచి యున్నారు.

ఆంగ్ల విద్యాప్రభావమువల్ల స్వతంత్రతాలోచన, వ్యక్తి స్వాతంత్ర్యము గాన్పించును. తత్పూర్వము మతాచార్యులకు, ఆచారములకు, శాస్త్రములకు, ఆచారములకు ప్రజలుదాసులుగా నుండిరి. స్వతంత్రముగా బ్రతుకుదుమన్న వెలివేయుచుండిరి ఈ విధముగా సమాజములో పీడనము Social Tyranny కాన్పించును. పరమాత్మునుగూర్చి ఉపనిషత్తులలో ఉన్నత భాములున్నను, శతాబ్దముల తరబడి దేశములో వర్ణవ్యవస్థ విగ్రహారాధన నిల్చిపోయినవి. వీనినే బ్రాహ్మణేతరోద్యమంతో కవిరాజు విమర్శించినది. అందుచేతనే ‘అధునిక భావ యుగకర్త’ యాయెను.

కనుక బ్రాహ్మణేతరోద్యమములో కవిరాజు అభిప్రాయము మతాచార్యుల అసత్యపు వ్రాతలతో బంధింపబడ్డ భారతీయ సమాజమును స్వతంత్ర సమాజముగా జేయుటయే. నవ్యభారత వర్ణమునుకోరు ఏ వ్యక్తి దీనిని అడ్డగించడు.

“తొమ్మిది మంది కన్యాకుబ్జవాసులకు పది వంటపాత్రలుండునని, ఒకరి నొకరు కలిసి భుజించరని, దగ్గర బంధువులతోకూడా భుజించరని” సామెత కలదు. ఇట్టివానినెల్ల నిరసించి మానవ చైతన్యమును ప్రసాదించటమే నాగరకత లక్షణమని, సాహిత్యముద్వారా దీని నెదుర్కొనవలెనని, అప్పుడు మతాచార్యుడు నెలపు పుచ్చుకొనునవి పరమాత్మ వచ్చునని “మా క్షు లె ర్న ర్” వ్రాసినాడు.

హృదయాంతర్యమియగు పరమాత్మునిగాంచి, సర్వమానవ సమానతను చాటినవారే బ్రహ్మవేత్తలు. లేక బ్రాహ్మణులు పూజనీయులు. కవిరాజు యిట్టి వారినన్నెడు దూషించలేదు. ఆయన ఉద్యమము కేవలము దురాచారములను, వర్ణవిభజనను ఖండించి, సాంఘిక పురర్నిర్మాణసక్తితో మాత్రమే పనిజేసినది. శ్రీ అమరేంద్ర హైదరాబాదులో నవంబరు 10 న జరిగిన్న సంస్కరణ సభలో

త్రిపురనేని కేవల సంస్కరణాభివేళంకలవాడే, తప్ప, బ్రాహ్మణద్వేషికాడని వివరించారు,

కవిరాజు కీర్తి శేషుడైనను, ఆయన చారిత్రిక దృష్టికోణము, శాస్త్రీయ దృక్పథము, కర్మకాండ నిరసన, అంధవిశ్వాసముల బోగట్టుట. అస్పృశ్యతా నిర్మూలన - మున్నగువానిలో మనముపనిచేసి, సాహిత్యరంగములోగూడ స్వేచ్ఛావాయువులపీల్చి మన విద్యుక్త ధర్మమున నెరవేర్చుకొందము. ఇదే నవ్యాంధ్రనిర్మాణమునకు ఏకైక ఉత్తమ మార్గము. అని త్రిపురనేని అభిప్రాయపడి యున్నారు.

గుణందెని గుండే, వెలుతురులేవి గడినే ఒకటేనని, ఆత్మసౌందర్యమే మానవత్వం అని గుర్తించడం ఎంతయినా అవసరం.



